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THE HINDOO PATRIOT

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THE WEEK.

MONDAY, 31ST DECEMBER.

MR. BRADLAUGH M. P. delivered an address on India from which we propose to give some extracts. He thus began:

I am of opinion that we have obtained our authority in India in a great part by means of which we ought to be heartily ashamed. And I think if we continue to govern India there is the weightiest duty upon every Englishman and Englishwoman to take care that the despotic authority of England should be used as much as it can be to redeem our past and to make our Indian fellow-citizens desirous of being governed by us. (Hear, hear.) Conservative speakers seem to hold a different view. They hold the view that was put forward by Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords many years ago. He said then "Our very existence in India depended upon the exclusion of the Native from military and political power. We have won the Empire of India by the sword, and we must preserve it by the same means." ["Shame."] I say that that is a shameful doctrine. [Hear, hear,] I say that is a doctrine which no Englishman, to whatever party he may belong, ought to propound. and, although my views are well known, I desire to-night, not to treat this question in a party spirit. I desire to appeal to Conservatives as well as to Liberals, to Radicals as well as to Liberals and Conservatives, and to urge upon them that there is the common duty of trying to deal with the immense mass of the people of India, so that our government, if it must continue, shall produce as little misery as may be humanly possibly and as much benefit as we can possibly contrive for them. [Hear, hear, and cheers.]

MR. BRADLAUGH thus dwells on the Government of India:

But I will mention to you that which most of you will know that until 1858 our relation with Hindoostan was only in connection with the East India Company, a Company which went there simply to make money. Since then we have governed India under what is called the government of the Governor-General in Council and that is the government of seven persons a one—the Government of Lord Ripon, or whoever may be the Viceroy, and six gentlemen whom I will describe to you. For all purposes save one, they are supreme. For all purposes, save one, every order they make is an order against which there is only one appeal, namely to public opinion in this country. [illegible] is an appeal which is little worth to be availing, for English people have not paid the attention they ought to have done to India, either in Parliament, or out of Parliament. I have seen Indian matters discussed with twenty men languidly sitting or reclining on the Benches of the House of Commons. And I have not found amongst the people of England any great interest taken in what may have been the nature of the debate. Yet I ask you, you who rule 254 millions of people, you whose rule, if it be bad to them may mean crime and disaster—I ask you, of whatever party you are, of whatever religion you are—have you the right to be indifferent to the happiness or misery of 254 millions of people whose destinies you control without appeal? Your Judgment being final upon it, I ask—are you not bound to consider every question that arises and to influence the decisions that may be come to? (Loud cheers.) Now the Governor-General in Council has six for his ordinary Council, one for Finance, one for Legislative matters,—and at the present moment the Legislative member is at any rate well-known in England, that is Mr. C. P. Ilbert, whose name is identified with the Bill with which I shall presently have to deal—one for Military matters, one for Public works and two members of the Council who divided between them the departments which in this country would figure as Home Office, Post Office, Trade, Education and Local Government. Now for all purposes, save one, they are supreme. For new legislation they are not. For new legislation the statute requires that every time they legislate there must be summoned not less than eight and no more than twelve additional members of whom not more than half are to be official: half may be non-official. And, in addition wherever the Council may be sitting that is whether it be sitting in Presidency of Bombay, Bengal or Madras, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Advocate-General of the Presidency where it sits are also invited to those LegislativeCouncils. So you have twenty members of the Legislative Council, of whom four are now natives, who sit when matters of legislation are brought forward. There is one thing one ought to say to the credit of Lord Ripon, and, that is, for the first time in the history of India, knowing that the Bengal Rent Bill would be one of the matters on which the Council would have to legislate, his lordship has consulted the large associations in Bengal interested in the question as to the men they would like to have nominated to sit on the Council to speak on their behalf. (Cheers.) I only hope this may be only one specimen of wise direction on that subject.

MR. BRADLAUGH thus notices the subject of the admission of natives into the Covenanted Civil Service:

I don't think that the people of Hindostan desire to quarrel with us. I believe that the best educated Hindoos, and I have had some opportunity of judging during the last twenty years, are sensible that in the Western world there are resources and traditions which they have not, which will benefit them; and I believe that they desire to work with us. But there is much dissatisfaction in Hindostan. Just think for a moment. Before a native can be a civil servant, before he can occupy any one of the posts which the English Government can give he must come over to this country to be examined—("Shame") —on the mere risk that he may pass an examination which is not easy even for Englishmen. He was to be examined in English. Look at the cost of such a long journey. Look at the waste of time in such a long journey. Look at the fact that if he be a Hindoo he loses caste entirely, and, if he fail, he is entirely an outcast from his own home and people. I say it is a shameful thing. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) If there are to be competitive examinations for Civil Service, and I think it wise and right there should be, then the candidates should be examined in Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras. Why should they be obliged to cross the ocean? It is a journey none of them ought to be forced to take as a condition of entering Government service. We ought to hold out facilities for competitive examinations and not raise these great obstacles—we ought to hold out every inducement to natives to become servants of the Government, if we want to keep our rule in India. Thirty-three thousand cannot hold 254 millions in check; and I put it to you that this matter of Civil Service Reform is one that will have to be dealt with.

MR. BRADLAUGH thus remarks upon the Ilbert Bill:

But I will ask you to remember that the Hindus have to forget their history before they will love us. They have to forget the frauds, the perjuries, the villanies that have been perpetrated. They have to forget their burnt cities and their ruined homes. They have to forget the wrongs of their ancestors. And they have only now, if we want to hold them, the guarantees of the future; and unless we make that future full of brightness and of hope, unless we try to show our professions of freedom are not a sham, unless we try to show that the civilization of which we boast, and the benevolence which, in famine time, we so widely advertize, are not all false, not all a sham, we must show that we can be just and generous to these people. (Loud cheers.)

If you can go to a foreign country for your own benefit, why should you have a superior position to the people who belong to that country and to whom that country belongs? You are an intruder there. The least you can do is to meet them on a footing of equality. And if you go as a conqueror and shelter yourself like a coward and a mean rascal behind the bayonets of the soldiery, then you have no claim on the sympathies of intelligent people. (Cheers.)

I hold here a Government Report, not a Report of a party character, but a Report made under the authority of Governments, both Conservative and Liberals; and I find that since railways have commenced "mean whites" or European vagrants have begun to spread over the country, and are increasing in numbers, so that efforts have been made to grapple with this evil. This Report has not been made for the Ilbert Bill, for it was printed nine years before the Ilbert Bill was proposed. The gaols and workhouses have found in them too many of these European vagrants. But none of these have been subject to Criminal Law because there was no European Judge; and, in order to get them tried, you had to send them to the High Court at Madras, Calcutta or Bombay. Often you could not transport the witnesses thither, therefore there was a failure and miscarriage of justice. The Ilbert Bill is to remedy this, to give the same jurisdiction outside the Presidency cities as exists inside. There was no damage done. The Englishman will still have a right of appeal. He may go to the Sessions Court or to the High Court. He may be tried by a jury half of which shall be composed of Englishmen or Americans, in case in which the law provides there shall be a jury; and there is no sort of pretence of any injustice at all. What are the objections urged in this memorial? The objections are also urged not simply by wild Tory speakers at after-dinner banquets—(Laughter)—they are also urged by a man whose words I desire to treat with the most profound respect—I mean Mr. Justice Stephen. Now Mr. Justice Stephen claims that the Ilbert Bill ought not to be accepted because it is the privilege of the European not to be tried by a Hindoo. I deny that privilege. If an Englishman puts himself in contact with the Hindoo knowingly beforehand, he is bound to submit himself to the law and he has no right to privilege which prevent his crime from punishment. (Cheers)

The people who have no sympathy with the natives amongst whom they go should not go there—(hear, hear)—they should not go amongst them if they intend to regard them as an alien race. And if they go they have no right to ask us to protect them with the sword because they do not choose to be sympathetic with the natives to whom it is their profit to go. I am afraid of being wearisome in putting this question —"(No! No!)"—but I have to ask you when a memorial urges, as this memorial does, that there will be false charges, that people will be unfairly tried—I have to ask if these things happen? There are false charges in every Court in the world. But here Justice has been administered by these very natives in the three most densely populated cities, where most Englishmen have congregated, and there has been no such complaint. Now, what is the character of the Hindus? And I take again this Report which is a statement of the moral and material progress of India—a Government Report printed in 1874 and which is continued year by year. What does it say of the people? It says that, as a rule, they are "chaste, honest, peaceful, singularly docile, easily governed and patient." Why should we insult these people? I ask you who have made my poor words of service to the infirmary by crowding this Hall—(loud cheers)—I ask you—and I would have you forget the speaker in the sentiment I put—I ask you who really dislike me, or who are in any way against me—do not let these people feel that you intend to treat them always as a conquered race. If you do—they will despair of justice, and they will try revenge. If you hold them only by force they will break the fetters when they can, and strike back with the steel when the steel is in their hands. (Cheers) The Past we cannot change but we may redeem it. The shame of Yesterday exist, but glory of To-morrow so great that the people may forget the iniquity which preceded it. We cannot make glory by dominance. That is a brute doctrine, the doctrine of the days when men cased themselves in armour and pierced their way with steel. It is the school, equal justice, interest, and love that will win to-day. (Cheers.)

WE GIVE the peroration:

I appeal to you to protest in favour of this Ilbert Bill as the measure of your desire to do justice to those whom you have wronged. (Tremendous cheering.) The Tories are talking in their meetings of a Mr. Atkins or Atkins who has come here to represent somebody. I received a strong letter from Madras last week asking me to assure every audience I addressed or any people with whom I had influence that he represented nobody but those who had paid him to do their official work. He does not represent the people. And if he did, the people who want you to rule by the sword don't deserve to be represented. (Cheers.) We don't want to rule India by the sword. We want to get before the people of India a future in which, if they will be patient, as they have been, they may climb, slowly it may be, but surely, to the fullest right of self-government, in course of time. We know that India is populated with diverse races, that, having broken up their old systems, they may not be able to climb to the fullest enjoyment of freedom at once. They may have to climb slowly and painfully, but that will give them the opportunity of making their way upward all the more surely. We will not shut the door in their face. These 250 millions of people, if we are to rule them at all, we must rule them not in the way in which we have gone to their country and taken possesson of it, but in the way in which we should like to be ruled if it had been their people who had come and taken possession of our country. (Loud cheers.) I regret that it should be needful before an audience, speaking the tongue which pretends to be identified with the traditions of Liberty to make such an appeal, but it is needful. When we find words of mocking go from such gatherings as the recent Conservative banquet at Wellingborough —(derisive laughter)—when we find words of mocking go from a Conservative banquet at Bristol, when we are told that Mr Gladstone wants to put the Englishman with his neck under the neck of the Hindoo, I say either these men are uttering wild and mad things, that they do not think, or are uttering wicked things that they may provoke an echo from the other side. The Hindus have been brave enough to fight beside us, loyal enough to keep our rule. We, at least, owe them that having taken their land with the strong hand, we shall hold it as gently as it is possible for human hand to hold. (Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. Bradlaugh made a noble speech and we cannot feel sufficiently grateful to him for his generous sentiments.

TUESDAY, 1ST JANUARY.

THE BELT CASE has been settled. The libel complained of appeared in *Vanity Fair*, and stated that a number of busts and statues attributed to Mr. Belt and claimed by him were executed by persons in his employ. The trial excited much attention in London society from the position of the witnesses who were examined, but was chiefly famous for its inordinate length, occupying as it did forty-three days in all. The trial concluded just about this time last year in a verdict for Mr. Belt with £5,000 damages. The verdict, however, was upset on appeal, and when the new trial commenced it was resolved, to the horror of every one concerned, that all the evidence would have to be taken again. Mr. Belt has now agreed to a compromise, accepting £500 instead of the £5,000 damages originally awarded.

THE TIMES OF INDIA hears on good authority that the Commander-in-Chief will not vacate his appointment on promotion to General in April, his Excellency having been granted an extension to complete his five years' tenure of office, *i. e.* till the spring of 1886.

A ST. PETERSBURG telegram states that three young ladies of the Imperial Court, one of whom is a countess, have been arrested in connection with the revolutionary party.

WE SEE that Sir Charles Dilke has been on a visit to the Queen at Windsor Castle. This, we believe, is the first time that the right hon. baronet has been invited to the Castle since he became a Minister. Mr. Chamberlain's turn comes next.

MR. D P. CAMA, a Parsee merchant in the city of London, has contributed 100 guineas to the Mansion House poor-box in commemoration of the fact that a son of the Queen had laid the foundation-stone of a new hospital at Bombay, to which the donor's father had contributed 12,000*l.*

AT THE beginning of the year an interesting experiment will be made in journalism. A magazine will be published containing articles written exclusively by members of the upper classes. It will be edited by a member of the House of Peers, and it is to be entitled *The Lords*. An example for the zemindars of Bengal.

GREAT CROWDS of people assembled in the neighbourhood of the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin on Nov. 26, when Mr. Irving Bishop, the thought-reader, started to discover a hidden pin. He was blindfolded and attached to the gentleman who had hidden the pin by a coil of wire. Without delay Mr. Bishop pursued various directions, dragging the gentleman after him, and eventually found the pin in the fold of a curtain in a fruiterer's shop. The feat was vociferously cheered, and the crowd carried Mr. Bishop in triumph to the hotel, where he addressed them.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JANUARY.

THE PAPER-MAKERS of Sealkote recently submitted a petition, representing that their trade had declined of late, partly in consequence of the rivalry of jail-made paper. After consulting the local authorities, the Lieutenant-Governor has decided that, al-

though the paper manufactory in the jail should not for the present be abolished, the prices of the jail made paper must be fixed at the full market rate. Should there still be reason to believe that the jail manufacture operates injuriously on private enterprise, His Honor thinks that some other suitable form of jail labour ought to be substituted for it.

MR. DOSABHOY FRAMJEE, the Presidency Magistrate, stated at a recent meeting of the Town Council that Parsees had no fixed surnames, and that the surname in most instances went to indicate the profession or calling of the individual. From the last list of candidates for the Bombay Matriculation Examination, a very good idea, says the *Times of India*, can be obtained of the manner in which surnames are assumed by our Zoroastrian friends. We find, in the list a bottleboy, a bottlewalla, a bookbinder, a broker, a cakewalla, a canteenwalla, a captain, a clubwalla, a collector, a commissariat-walla, a contractor, a cordmaster, a cooper, a doctor, a dubash, an engineer, a Frenchman, a major, a marker, a master, a merchant, a registrar, a screw-walla a shareboroker, a secretary, a purveyor and a paymaster.

MR. JOHN WALLACE, who was lately dismissed from the Madras Civil Service, applied to the Magistrates at Madras for a summons against Mr. Carmichael, the retiring Member of Council, on a charge of receiving an illegal gratification. The application was refused.

AN ATTACK was made on the 2nd inst. by a band of armed dacoits upon a large village near Agra. A fight occurred, in which two villagers and a policeman were killed. The maraunders got clear away, and no apprehensions have yet been made.

EIGHT YOUNG LADY STUDENTS—seven European and one Parsee—passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University last week.

THE INDIAN WITNESS has the following:

A number of consumptives have this year been ordered to the vineyards of France. The female patients are made first of all to stand for some hours each day in the sheds where the wine-pressing is going forward. After a while, as the weakness disappears, they are made to jump into the press, and, along with the vintagers and other labourers in the vine yard, they are forced to jump and skip and inhale the fumes of the fermenting juice, until they sometimes become intoxicated and are borne away senseless. This effect, it is said, wears off after one or two trials, and they [illegible] to their labour with regained [illegible] and heightened colour, until soon they find themselves as hopeful and joyous, and as capable of enjoying life, as the most robust among the peasant girls who surround them. We venture the simple suggestion to try the jumping, etc., in ordinary water instead of in the fermenting juice. We do not guarantee this cure but will risk comparing it with the other.

THE VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS in Java have helped forward agricultural work in some parts of the neighbouring islands. Lands that were covered with ashes are likely to become very fertile, and, already, the agriculturist is at work and using the ash as manure. Trees and plants are said to be growing luxuriantly with the aid of these ashes.

THURSDAY, 3RD JANUARY.

THE PIONEER has received news from Persia pointing to a renewed activity, on the part of the Russians who seem bent upon gaining a through knowledge of the country between Merve and Khorasan. A Flying column over a thousand strong, made up of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, is said to have left the Russian outpost of Baba Darmaz, and to be now exploring the Tejend Valley.

A CONTEMPORARY publishes the following telegram from London:

An influential Home Committee, not limited to Tory Members, is being formed against the Bengal Tenancy Bill. The rumour of Church disestablishment in India has offended the Tories more deeply than the Ilbert Bill. The Government propose spending one hundred thousand pounds on the defences of Aden.

WE ARE sorry to record the death of Mr. Kikabhai Prabhudas, Editor of the *Guzerat Mitra*. He was a Municipal Commissioner at Surat, and an active member of the *Prajahith Vardhuk Sabha*. He was an able and outspoken writer.

THE BENGAL PUBLIC OPINION has the following:

Notwithstanding the goodly number of speeches made on Sunday last in the National Conference, on the subject of National Fund, the ideas of the public about it are as still hazy as they were a few months back. Mr. Banerjee's speech shed no new light on the subject, not a word was spoken as to the agency that would be employed to spend the proceeds of the fund, not a syllable was uttered to explain the organisation it is proposed to make in connection with it. Mr. Banerjee took some pains to explain the necessity of the fund,—but we believe there has always been but one opinion on this point. The Press have discussed this subject almost threadbare, and many are the practical and useful suggestions they have put forward in connection with it, but the projectors seem little inclined to take counsel of the public. The whole discussion on the subject last Sunday showed a far greater degree of *sentiment* than *sense*.

A BIOGRAPHY of the late Princess Alice will shortly be published. It is not generally known, says the *Christian life*, that the late lamented Princess was a Unitarian.

MISS MANNING requests us to correct a misprint in the December number of the Journal of the National Indian Association—"a native gentleman" in line 10, page 1, should be read "and native gentlemen."

STILL no rain in Behar districts, and the prospects both of indigo and the coming *rubbee* crops are bad in the extreme. Even the usual Xmas showers have not fallen, and the dust is as thick on the roads as in May.

FRIDAY, 4TH JANUARY.

A DUTCH FIRM has recently obtained a concession from the Shah of Persia to work the oil wells near Bushire. These wells are believed to be among the most bountiful in the world, and the spring is of such vitality that the oil flows spontaneously in quantity out of the earth.

MR. VANDERBILT, the American millionaire, is said to have given the painter Meissonier a commission for a picture upon a military subject, the price to be £40,000. The size of the work is to be 18 feet by 12 feet.

WE ARE sorry to learn that on the 2nd instant a tremendus conflagration broke out in Nurainguni. The whole of the Seetalucki Bazar, Armenian arms, jute godowns, and other empty godowns, were burnt to the ground, only a pucka house in the centre standing. No lives were lost. The loss of property is considerable, and would have been enormous had a south wind prevailed.

MR. GRANT DUFF, Governor of Madras, in a minute, writes: "It is a glorious country, and he who does not enjoy so wide and interesting a sphere of activity, must be hard to please or think highly of his own claims upon fates and destinies." True, but what substantial good has Mr. Grant Duff done to Madras?

WE ARE GLAD to hear from the *Pioneer* that the Bikanir field force is now on its way back to Nusseerabad after no more serious operation than the blowing up of the fort of the Bidasar Thakur. It is satisfactory to think that all the objects of the expedition have been achieved without the shedding of blood, the force having gone and come as quietly as though on a route march.

A TELEGRAM in a contemporary dated London, 25th December, says:—"The *Daily News* of this morning in a second article on the compromise entered into by the Government of India with the Anglo-Indian Defence Association condemns its terms as a retrograde measure, and as calculated to enhance the privileges now claimed by the Anglo-Indian community."

THE TOTAL import of gold and silver into India during the month of November 1883 was Rs. 1,05,18,427 of which Rs. 62,89,723 was in gold and Rs. 42,28,704 in silver. The total value of the exports of the two metals was Rs. 8,56,400. The total value of the imports of gold and silver for the past year ending November 1883 was Rs. 8,26,05,334, of which Rs. 3,84,55,815 was in gold and Rs. 4,41,49,519 in silver. The total value of the exports of the two metals for the same period was Rs. 65,60,595.

WE HAVE the authority of a Krishnaggur correspondent for stating that the makers of the three native scenes now being exhibited at the Calcutta Exhibition, namely—a home with a marriage party, a home with the Kali Puja ceremony, and the cremation ghat are the productions of the well known artists Matilal Pal and Sasilal Pal of *Goari*.

WE HAVE received a copy of a petition, which the inhabitants of forty villages in the district of Dinagepore have addressed to the Chairman of the Road Cess Committee. The petition says that the road referred to is one of 12 miles and will communicate with the Railway Stations of Nawabgunge and Jeypur and with the market of Bhowanigunge and other markets to the north-east of the road. The petitioners refer to a plan which they have submitted with the petition, but they do not mention the points of starting and ending. It is said that this road if constructed will afford great relief to the people in this year of scarcity.

WE HAVE received a communication from Vizianagram relative to the case of Pundit Lingam Lakshmije. The merits of the case not having been clearly and fully set forth we cannot say how any injustice has been done to the Pundit. We cannot condemn any judicial or other authority on mere allegation.

SATURDAY 5TH, JANUARY.

THE ENGLISHMAN publishes the following telegram from Bombay:

Bombay January 4.—There were 22 deaths from cholera in Bombay last week against 10 in the preceding week. The Government have addressed a letter to the Municipal commissioner on the subject of the sudden rise of the disease after it had died out. The letter states that the matter has attracted the attention of the Egyptian Government. Sir E. Baring has telegraphed intimating the probability of a renewal of quarantine in Egypt against Bombay. The Government has had inquiries instituted with a view of ascertaining if any cause could be found for the sudden outbreak. The result was attributed to the recent stoppage of the Vehar water supply for two or three days owing to a break in the main, when the people were compelled to use water obtained from sources some of which were possibly impure. The Government require to be imperatively assured that breaks in the water mains will be repaired at once at any cost.

MR. TENNYSON whose peerage has been bestowed upon him, it is said, by special desire of the Queen, will be called to the House of Lords by the title of Lord Tennyson D'Eyncourt.

A TERRIFIC gale swept over the British isles last Tuesday night doing immense damage. In various parts of the country many people were killed and maimed in their beds by falling roofs, and some Irish and Yarmouth fishing boats were lost.

AT A SPECIAL meeting of Freemasons, last Saturday, the rank of Grand Master and Past Grand Master of mark masons was conferred on the Prince of Wales.

MR. RUSSELL, Queen's Counsel, received a retaining fee of two thousand guineas for the defence of O'Donnell, the amount being paid him from the Land League Fund.

HIS EXCELLENCY the Viceroy will probably install the Nizam of Hyderabad on the throne. It is stated that His Excellency's departure for Hyderabad will be some time between the 5th and 15th of February, and it is probable that His Excellency will go *via* Madras, by sea, eventually returning to Calcutta.

WE LEARN that the Government of Bengal has requested its district officers to send artisans to Calcutta to visit the International Exhibition, and has for this purpose sanctioned Rs. 100 for each district to be paid as their travelling allowance. The allowance is too small.

SIR CHARLES AITCHISON makes the following remarks on the administration of the License tax in the Punjab:

It is not credible, that the assessment of the tax should be so roughly carried out as it is at present in most districts of the Province. It involves loss to the Government and hardship to traders. An present a Village shopkeeper, who is on good terms with the Lumbardar and Zaildar, and contrives to stand well with the Assistant Collector, escapes the tax or is taxed on much less than his real income; while an unpopular trader either pays an undue amount, or is put to the inconvenience and trouble of appealing against the sum which he is called upon to pay.

WE HAVE received a copy of the representation which the Secretary of the Sylhet Rate-payers Association has addressed to the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet. It is about a memorial presented by the local Mahomedan community condemning the elective system, advocating a re-election of the Municipal Commissioners and giving preference to the existing nomination system. The points of the Mahomedan Memorialists are categorically controverted and the letter is throughout well reasoned. The reason alleged for the difference between the Mahomedan and Hindu Commissioners is the removal of a Moslem Commissioner for not attending six consecutive meetings of the Commissioners.

A CORRESPONDENT at Ghatteswara in the subdivision of Diamond Harbour writes:

The railway to Diamond Harbour except benefiting the villages on the line has proved of little benefit to distant villages for want of feeder roads. This objection refers specially to the villages on the south. To the villagers on the Kulpi road from 18th to the 24th mile the Mograhat station is a convenient one. But they want communication. This might be provided by a road-way through the village and a water-way on its side. On the north of the above mile stones about a distance of one to 2 miles there is a village by the name of Banchapra or Mandirbazar the proposed road might pass through that village and another named Chowkitollah Hat. This road will enable tradesmen to use the Chowfuli Road south of the Kulpi Road to bring rice and other goods from Dholahat, Gungadharpore Hat, Khodar Hat, Ghatteshwara Hat and other important Hats in the south including Mandirbazar and Chowkitollah to Mogra Hat station. The roads on the west and last of the line via Kulpi and Bistopur are 19 to 20 miles distant and the proposed road will be only from 9 to 10 miles distant. The water way that exists from Mandirbazar Hat to Mogra Hat is navigable for sailties for 8 or 9 months it is true, but the one from Kulpi road to Mandirbazar remains open for about a month or two. Goods are carried to Mandirbazar from 9 or 10 miles by means of bullocks. But to carry goods by bullocks, then by *salty* and then by cart is a matter of much expense and trouble. To avoid all this rice and goods are sent by water from Mandirbazar to Chetla and Calcutta and its adjoining villages. The Nuzra station is nearer to the abovementioned places than Mugra Hat, but it will be a very expensive affair to make a road to Nuzra.

WE TAKE from the morning papers the following telegrams of the week:

London, December 30.—The latest news from Tonquin states that the French lose a Sunday was thirty-six officers and one thousand men. The attack on Bacninhhas been deferred until the arrival of reinforcements.

30.—Subscriptions are invited for a million and a half sterling on behalf of the Nizam's railway. The company is formed in order to acquire and work the existing lines and construct the new ones.

January, 1.—Alexander Brogen, Member of Parliament for Wednesbury, and Henry Brogden, colliery proprietors and

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iron masters, have filed a petition in the Bankruptcy Court, their liabilities being estimated at £750,000 each. The East India Association, yesterday, presented a memorial to the Chancellor of the Exchequer urging the abolision of duties on silver plate, and a reform of the hall mark laws. Latest news from Tonquin states that Admiral Courbet has returned to Hanoi.

2.—The Revenue returns for the past year state that the revenue amounted to ninety millions sterling, showing an increase of three millions six hundred and ninety thousand pounds over that of the previous year. Uproarious meetings of Orangemen and Parnellites took place at Dromore, County Down, yesterday. The Orangemen attempted to attack the Parnellites, and troops were obliged to interfere to prevent a collision between the two factions.

3.—Earl Spencer arrived here to-day, and was everywhere carefully guarded by Police. His Excellency on his arrival had an interview with Mr. Gladstone. The *Verona*, owing to an accident to her propeller, is being towed to Suez, where the mails have arrived, brought on by the steamer *Vega*.

4.—At a Cabinet Council held yesterday, a discussion took place on Egyptian affairs, and another Cabinet Council is summoned for to-day. It is rumoured that an important decision with reference to Egypt is imminent.

We have received proceedings of the Rent Bill Meetings held at Puttia and Jarah respectively, which we hold over till the next issue.

The last part of the English translation of the Mahabharatha of Babu Protapchunder Roy is to hand. The publication maintains its reputation as regards style and fidelity of translation. The getting-up is equally good.

We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the under-mentioned publications and periodicals:—1. Report on the Internal Trade of Bengal for 1882-83. 2. Trade and Navigation Accounts of British India, for November 1883 and the eight months, 1st April to 30th April 1883. My Note-Book on Indian History or History of India made Easy. By Robert Hawthorne, Pa. D. Professor, Doveton, College. 4. Testimony—or pieces in prose and verse regarding Christianity. 5. The Kuch Behar State Sheet and Card Almanac for 1884. 6 Mr. J. Newberg's pocket-book almanacs with price list. 7. Catalogue of the Exhibits sent from British Guiana to the Calcutta Exhibition of 1883-84. 8. Hours of Business of the Calcutta General Post Office and Town Post Offices. 9. Fourth Annual Report of the Jessore-Khulna Union for 1882-83. 10. Go-tuttwa or a treatise about the bovine race, their habits, peculiarities and treatment in health and disease &c. in Bengali. By Jyagendracoomar Roy Chowdhry, Taki. 11. The decline of the zemindars—a paper in Bengali. By the same author. 12. Proceedings of Meetings of the Wine Merchants in Bengal held in Calcutta on the 14th and 18th November 1883. 13. The Mahabharatha—translation in English Prose, Part V., published and distributed *gratis*. By Protapchunder Roy. 14. Hiraprabha—a story in Bengali No. 4. 15. First Annual Report of the Sovabazar Debating Club, 1884.

The Hindoo Patriot.

MONDAY, JANUARY, 7, 1884.

RETROSPECT OF 1883.

The curtain has dropped over another year. Peace smiled over India throughout the past year. There were two slight commotions, namely, the Aka affair on the Assam frontier and the disturbances in Bikanir in Rajputana; but they did not affect the general tranquillity of the empire. The Indian troops despatched to Egypt had returned to their cantonments before the commencement of the past year. Peace at home enabled the Viceroy to apply himself assiduously to problems of domestic administration. A man of peace and progress His Lordship had set his heart upon domestic reform. But little did His Lordship think of the difficulties, which beset his path. Surrounded by a bureaucracy tenacious of their own powers and confronted by a European population jealous of their own privileges, His Lordship has been placed as it were between Scylla and Carybdes, and some of his noble schemes for the advancement of the country have been shipwrecked between them. But the native community have throughout given His Lordship a loyal, warm and enthusiastic support. Their high hopes, however, received a rude shock as the year neared its end. The year opened with the brightness of dawn but has ended in the gloom of a cloudy night.

The Agitation.

The most remarkable and striking feature of the past year was the agitation evoked among the European and Native communities by the measures of Lord Ripon's Government and the *Bengalee* contempt case. The agitation among the European community was produced by the introduction of a small Bill into the Legislative Council with the object of removing the race-disability imposed upon Native Magistrates and Judges by Chapter 33 of the Code of Civil Procedure. The proposal had emanated from the Government of Bengal towards the close of Sir Ashley Eden's *administration*, and it was taken up in right earnest by the present Viceroy, whose illustrious father, the Earl of Ripon, it will be remembered, had declared half a century ago that Europeans and Natives ought to be placed in India on a footing of perfect equality before the law. Sir Ashley Eden's proposal had been circulated confidentially by the Government of India to the Local Governments and Administrations for an expression of their opinion, and it had been generally approved by them with the exception of the Chief Commissioner of the small and unimportant province of Coorg. Fortified by this consensus of opinion Mr. Ilbert framed a Bill to remove the anomaly of race-distinction in the exercise of criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects. The Bill, if passed into law in the shape in which it was introduced, would not have benefitted more than half a dozen Native Civilians. But even this small measure excited the wrath of the non-official European community, who organised a persistent and violent agitation against it. If the opponents of the Ilbert Bill had confined themselves to a fair and rational opposition, we should not have had anything to say against them. They had every right, by means of legitimate and constitutional agitation, to prevent the enactment of any law which they thought would seriously injure their position and expose them to danger. But the opponents of the Bill, chiefly in Calcutta, unhappily, fell foul of the Natives in an exceedingly savage manner. They poured no end of abusive epithets upon our countrymen, which naturally had the effect of stirring up race-antipathies and race-animosities, such as had never been witnessed since the Mutiny. None can regret more than we do the flood of feeling, which this contest has produced; the country we fear has been thrown thirty years back by this bitter race-feud. Though our countrymen denounced the silly opposition offered to the Bill by the Independent Britons, they could not help warmly admiring the power of organisation, the uncompromising demonstrativeness and the wonderful cohesiveness with which the Europeans bolstered up such a bad cause. This grand example of political agitation made a deep impression upon them, and the lesson thus taught was not lost upon them. They faithfully reproduced the example set by the European community when the Editor of the *Bengalee* newspaper was committed by a Full Bench of the High Court to the Presidency Jail on a charge of Contempt of Court. Happily our countrymen did not make a true copy of the prototype. They certainly gave expression to their feelings, but they neither abused nor contemned authority. This unfortunate case happened at a peculiarly unfortunate moment when the public mind, both European and Native, was in a state of excitement which had been produced by the introduction of the Ilbert Bill. What the Editor of the *Bengalee* wrote was comment upon a matter, which was not *sub judice*, and though he was wrong in his facts and conclusions, he did not in our humble opinion fairly come under a charge of contempt of Court. According to the exposition of the law by the Lord Chancellor in March last on the occasion of the introduction into the House of Lords of a Bill for defining the law relating to contempts of court, Babu Surendranath Bannerjea's offence did not constitute a contempt of court. His offence as enunciated by the Chief Justice was defamation, and yet the Editor was summarily convicted of contempt of court and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. This led to a wide demonstration of sympathy with the convicted Editor both in Calcutta and in the Moffussil. The most striking feature of the agitation evoked by the committal of the Editor of the *Bengalee* to the Presidency Jail was that it was not confined to Bengal. Our enemies were but too ready to taunt us with the remark that the hardy races of Upper India had no sympathy for the weak Bengali, but the demonstrative action in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab Oudh, Bombay and Madras showed beyond the shadow of a doubt that there is a common feeling among all classes of the Native population throughout the country. The Hindustanees, Punjabees, Sikhs, Mahrattas, and even Mahomedans and Native Christians made common cause with the Bengalis in a matter which owed its origin to a question affecting the Hindus' religious feeling. All these various communities joined hand in hand in a common bond of attachment and loyalty to that beneficent Sovereign, whose enlightened and benign rule had enabled them to achieve this happy union. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that though the national feeling was roused to its utmost depth, the agitation proved unfructuous. The Committee appointed on the subject made a wrong move by burning the candle at both ends. They submitted a petition to the Viceroy to move the Privy Council for opinion on the legal question involved, and also at the same time submitted an appeal to the Privy Council. The Privy Council rejected the appeal, and the agitation consequently came to an abrupt close. A great political end has been lost. The year was memorable for agitation in two other directions. Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose has stirred up a wholesome agitation in England regarding Indian rights and claims in connection with the Ilbert Bill. The zemindars have also set on foot an agitation against the revolutionary and confiscatory measure against them, the like of which had never before been seen before. The zemindars are not a demonstrative body; they are not given to noise or fuss; they quietly pursue their career, well remembering that wealth has its rights as well as duties. But they have been roused to activity by the threatening attitude of Government. Seeing that their rights, which some of them have through their ancestors enjoyed long before the Mahomedan conquest, for which many of them have paid hard cash, and which under British rule have been consecrated by the sanction of a century, were in imminent danger of absorption by revolutionary legislation. They have banded themselves together to oppose it by all lawful and constitutional means. In this common cause it is gratifying to observe both the Bengal and Behar zemindars are going hand in hand.

India and England.

The past year was rendered memorable by the appointment of a son of the Queen to command a division of the Army in India. By making this arrangement our beloved Queen-Empress gave further proof of the genuine and deep interest she takes in the well-being of her Indian subjects. A Prince of the Blood Royal has come to the country to serve under the Indian Government—this circumstance has made a profound impression upon the Native mind. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught accompanied by his Royal Consort landed in Bombay towards the close of the year and a right royal reception was given to him and the Duchess. Our countrymen of all classes in Bombay took an active and prominent part in this demonstration of loyalty and attachment to the British Crown. Their Royal Highnesses paid a visit to the metropolis of British India, and were present at the opening of the International Exhibition. Here, too, a most cordial and loyal welcome was accorded to their Royal Highnesses. The people of India were exceedingly glad to have an opportunity thus afforded them of displaying their feelings of devoted loyalty and attachment to the throne and person of their Beloved Sovereign, who is a pattern of domestic and public virtues, and who is truly a Mother to the hundreds of millions who have the happiness of living under Her beneficent sway. The Government of the East India Company was something like an anomaly to the people of India. Being accustomed from time immemorial to the personal rule of a sovereign the Princes and peoples of this country could hardly comprehend how a company of merchants could occupy an imperial throne and manage the East Indian Empire. This anomaly was put an end to by the assumption of the direct Government of India by the Crown twenty-five years ago, and the change

has been emphasised and brought home to our countrymen by the three Royal visits which have taken place during the last 15 years. The controversies respecting Lord Ripon's policy awakened in England a popular interest in Indian affairs. A large number of public meetings were held in London and some of the principal provincial towns, either to support or to condemn the Viceroy's policy, and the periodicals teemed with articles on the subject. Most of these public meetings were promoted either by the British Indian Committee or the London Committee of the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association. The Agitation of the Anglo-Indian opponents of Lord Ripon's policy led to the formation of the British Indian Committee to support the liberal and progressive measures introduced by His Lordship. The meetings promoted by this body were addressed by our distinguished countryman Mr. Lal M[illegible]e and such well-known members o[illegible]t as Professor Bryce, Professor T[illegible]s, Sir Wilfrid Lawson and others; and [illegible]em was presided over by no less a per[illegible]han Mr. John Bright. The leaders [illegible]t in England openly expressed th[illegible]mpathy with the objects of these meetings, almost all of which proved great successes. During the past year an organisation called the National Representative Committee was formed to bring the grievances of India to the notice of Parliament, and it was proposed to convert the British India Committee into a permanent Committee to be designated "The Indian Reform Association," in order to co-operate with the people of India in promoting their political progress and material interests, and to inform the British public regarding the condition of India. The inaugural ceremonies of the Oxford Institute founded by Professor Monier Williams and of the Northbrook Indian Society of Lord Northbrook took place during the past year. The first-named ceremony was performed by the Prince of Wales who laid the foundation-stone. On this auspicious occasion His Royal Highness evinced his deep interest in the welfare of [illegible]and expressed his conviction that the [illegible] Institute would draw nearer together [illegible]nds of brotherhood and affection between [illegible]d and India. On the second occa[illegible]oo, His Royal Highness gave expres[illegible] generous and gracious feelings towards [illegible]eming millions of India. The Prince's [illegible]s on both these occasions evoked the sentiments of loyalty among Her Majesty's Indian subjects.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

There were two or three interesting and instructive discussions upon Indian affairs in Parliament during the past session. The important debate was that on Lord Ripon's policy which was raised by Lord Lytton in the House of Lords in April last. This debate marked an era in the history of Parliamentary rule of British India. For the first time the Upper House was called upon to discuss the great and momentous question, whether India should be governed by brute force or by moral force, whether its Government should be an autocracy or a despotism tempered by public opinion, whether in fact India should be governed for the Indians or for the handful of Europeans who temporarily inhabited it. The debate was in every way worthy of the subject and it was marked by remarkable ability on both sides. The late Viceroy sharply criticised his successor's Indian policy, which he characterised as the policy of gradually transferring political power in India from European to Native hands. Lord Lytton, however, forgot that this must be the legitimate outcome of the progressive and enlightened British rule. His Lordship was strongly supported by Lord Salisbury and Lord Cranbrook both of whom had been Secretaries of State for India. The specific objections raised by Lord Lytton against his successor's policy were satisfactorily answered by Lord Kimberley, Lord Northbrook and the Lord Chancellor. As regards the Local Self-Government scheme it was clearly shewn that Lord Ripon's famous Resolution of May 1882 as regards principle was but a repetition of the views of past administrations and that his policy was the old setteld policy of many Viceroys. The ebate was rendered memorable by the emphatic testimony which the Lord Chancellor, speaking from the experience derived from his extensive practice in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, bore to the ability and judicial acumen of the Native Judges, and also by Lord Northbrook's declaration that equality in the eye of the law was the cardinal principle of British rule in India. The attack of the Conservative leaders did not produce any mischievous results. On the contrary, it did good to the people of India by affording the Ministry an excellent opportunity of vindicating Lord Ripon's policy. Mr. Edward Stanhope, who was Under-Secretary of State for India in Lord Beaconsfield's second administration, brought forward a motion in the House of Commons in favour of the reduction of Indian expenditure. This motion elicited a masterly speech on Indian finance from Mr. J. K. Cross, the new Under-Secretary, who conclusively shewed that the growth of Indian expenditure where it had grown had been inevitable. Some of the admissions made by Mr. Cross in the course of his speech were serious. He pointed out that the superannuation charges both civil and military had been increasing steadily and rapidly, and that the defrayal of this charge swallowed up one-sixth of the entire revenue of the Empire. The Under-Secretary indicated an extended employment of Natives in every possible way as one of the best means of reducing the civil charges. Mr. Stanhope's motion was accepted by the Government, but our countrymen did not expect any practical results from it. Experience has taught them that the opposition whether Liberal or Conservative always advocate economy, while the Ministry, although professing the same policy manage to avoid somehow or other practical action. An amendment to Mr. Stanhope's motion was moved by Mr. Onslow, regretting that any portion of the extraordinary expenses of the Indian contingent despatched to Egypt should have been thrown upon the revenues of India. This amendment found powerful support in the House of Commons, and the injustice of making India pay the cost of the Indian troops employed in the Egyptian War was conclusively demonstrated. The Prime Minister, unfortunately treated the amendment as a vote of censure and he threatened to resign if it were carried out. This threat produced a tremendous effect, and Mr. Onslow's amendment was rejected by a large majority, the consequence being to convince our countrymen that, in deciding important questions, Parliament is guided not so much by the right or justice of the question at issue as by political considerations. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, in his place in the House of Commons, made a savage attack upon Lord Ripon whom he described as a crotcheteer, a sentimentalist, and a pseudo-humanitarian. The Viceroy was warmly defended by Mr. Gladstone from the accusations which had been brought against him. The debate upon the Indian Budget was, as usual, postponed till the closing hours of the session, and was a most tame and disappointing affair. Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, however, enlivened the occasion by introducing the burning question of the Ilbert Bill. His utterances would not probably have received any notice, had they not been supported by Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Edward Stanhope. Lord Hartington as the Indian Minister responsible for sanctioning the introduction of the measure into the Viceroy's Legislative Council, made an elaborate defence of its policy. Sir Stafford Northcote, in his customary review of the work of the session, strongly denounced, among other things, the Indian policy of the Ministry, and Mr. Gladstone enthusiastically vindicated it. The history of the past session brought to prominence the heavy loss which India has sustained by the absorption of Mr. Fawcett into the Ministry. The "Member for Hindustan" was prevented by the restraints of office from taking any part in the debate on Indian Expenditure raised by Mr. Edward Stanhope or in the annual discussion for the Budget. In addressing his constituents at Hackney towards the close of the year, Mr. Fawcett explained why he did not protest against the decision of the Ministry to throw the expenses of the Indian troops despatched to Egypt upon the revenues of India. This explanation was read by our countrymen with profound grief. Mr. Fawcett said that though he was desirous that England should exclusively bear the cost of the Egyptian campaign he did not see his way to formally register his vote, as Mr. Gladstone had stated that if Mr. Ouslow's motion was carried, he should regard it as one of censure and resign. Our countrymen were greatly distressed to find that even the conscientious Mr. Fawcett should have suppressed his honest opinion on the subject for the sake of party ties. They never thought that their sightless champion should forget his duty to the two hundred and fifty millions of Indians under the influence of political considerations. The range of subjects which Mr. F. H. O'Donnell brought under the notice of the House of Commons was, as usual, wide enough, and [illegible] effect of his frequent interpellations was that [illegible] local Governors were imbued with a wholes[illegible] dread of Perliamentary agitation. Nothing [illegible] caped the argus eyes of Mr. O'Donnell, and [illegible] things, great or small, came under his obse[illegible] tion.

PERSONNEL OF GOVERNMENT.

The changes in the *personnel* of the In[illegible] Government during the past year were few [illegible] unimportant with one or two exceptions. L[illegible] Kimberley's appointment to the India Office [illegible] succession to Lord Hartington rendered it nec[illegible] sary that an officer should be chosen for [illegible] political Under-Secretaryship to represent In[illegible] in the House of Commons. Viscount Enfie[illegible] accordingly, resigned and his mantle fell upon M[illegible] J. K. Cross. A better selection could not ha[illegible] been made. A member of one of the Lancashi[illegible] boroughs, Mr. Cross had always taken a de[illegible] interest in Indian affairs and studied them wi[illegible] great care and attention. His very first spee[illegible] in the House of Commons after his appointme[illegible] to the Under-Secretaryship clearly showed th[illegible] he had mastered the intricacies of Indian finan[illegible] and in the course of that speech he indicate[illegible] an increased employment of Natives in the publ[illegible] service as the best means of reducing the civ[illegible] charges. Sir Louis Mallet, who had for yea[illegible] been the Permanent Under-Secretary at th[illegible] India Office and the virtual ruler of Indi[illegible] retired, and Mr. Godley was appointed his suc[illegible] cessor. The new Under-Secretary has within [illegible] very short time won golden opinions from al[illegible] connected with the India Office, and this ci[illegible] cumstance is full of hope for the future. To[illegible] wards the close of the year Mr. Horace [illegible] Walpole was appointed Assistant Under-Secre[illegible] tary of State for India. A vacancy in the Indi[illegible] Council occurred owing to the appointment o[illegible] Sir Henry Norman to the Governorship of Ja[illegible] maica, and Sir Peter Lamsden, formerly Adju[illegible] tant-General in India, was selected for the place[illegible] This arrangement destroys all hope of reform[illegible] in the Indian Army, as Sir Peter Lumbsden[illegible] like Sir Henry Norman, is pledged to the main[illegible] tenance of the existing system. Mr. Gibbs, th[illegible] Senior Member of the Viceroy's Executive Coun[illegible] cil, went home on six months' sick leave—th[illegible] only leave to which a member of the Executiv[illegible] Council or Lieutenant-Governor is entitled. But [illegible] no one was appointed to fill the temporary [illegible] vacancy, Sir Steuart Bayley having taken up the [illegible] work of his colleague in charge of the Home [illegible] Department in addition to his own. A permanent vacancy in the Council was caused by the [illegible] transfer of Sir Evelyn Baring, the Financial [illegible] Member to Egypt. What was a great gain to [illegible] Egypt proved an irreparable loss to India. Sir [illegible] Evelyn's departure from the country was deeply [illegible] regretted by all classes of the Native commu[illegible] nity. He was an administrator of rare capacit[illegible] and a sympathising and warm friend of the [illegible] children of the soil. His influence was not [illegible] confined to the doings of the Department ove[illegible] which he presided. He was the right hand o[illegible] Lord Ripon in all matters relating to the interna[illegible] administration of the Empire. Sir Auckland Col[illegible] vin, of the North-West Civil Service, who had [illegible] succeeded Sir Evelyn Baring in Egypt, wa[illegible] selected for the latter's place in the Viceroy's [illegible] Executive Council. Those who knew Sir Auck[illegible] land's antecedents and had read his famou[illegible] memorandum on the revision of settlement [illegible] in the North-Western Provinces and the [illegible] minute recorded by him as a member of [illegible] the Deccan Ryots commission, approved of [illegible] the arrangement and anticipated the best results

from it, though of course it was felt that the loss caused by Sir Evelyn Baring's departure could not be made good. There was no change in the Provincial Governorships or Lieutenant-Governorships during the past year. But in the minor provinces Sir John Morris retired from the chief commissionership of the Central Provinces and was succeeded by Mr. W. B. Jones. Sir John's departure was deeply regretted by all classes of the Native community in those Provinces. He had ruled those provinces for nearly 15 years and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the people inhabiting them. One of his last acts as Chief Commissioner was to issue a remarkable circular to his subordinates on the subject of the extension and development of local self-government in the satrapy. In this document Sir John conclusively showed that the scheme, if properly worked would not only promote the political education of the people, but would secure a more economical and efficient administration of district funds. Mr. C. E. Bernard Chief Commissioner of British Burma, went home in the beginning of last year on twelve months' furlough, and Mr. Charles Crosthwaite was appointed his *locum tenens*. Mr. Jones having exchanged the Hyderabad Residency for the Nagpore Satrapy, Mr. J. G. Cordery was accredited to the Nizam's Court. Sir James Gordon, Resident at Mysore, having been compelled by ill-health to go home, Mr. J. B. Lyall was selected to succeed him.

LEGISLATION.

India wanted respite from the over-legislation of the past few years when Mr. Whitley Stoke's term of office expired, and it was expected that Mr. Ilbert's appointment to the Legal Membership would give the land rest. The year opened with the passing of the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act. This event marked a new era in the history of the Vice-Regal Council. Although the Act was a small measure relating to one of the least advanced provinces in the empire and therefore not at all a model measure, still the spirit in which the Bill was discussed in the Legislative Council was admirable. Mr. Gibbs, the oldest representative of the Civil Service in India, hailed the measure as a harbinger of reform, holding that the policy, of Local Self-government was merely the natural out-come of that system of education which has been going on under the auspices of the British Government for nearly half-a-century. He felt sure that the leading Native gentlemen would do much to carry out the new policy, and he expressed his strong opinion that the success of this policy would depend almost as much on the district officers, and their conduct towards the Local Boards, as it would on the Boards themselves. "It will require judicious care and assistance," said Mr. Gibbs "and not dictation on the part of the district officers, to assist the gentlemen who form the Boards, especially at the commencement, to carry out their onerous duties with success." These noble words of the Father of the Indian Civil Service indicated the spirit in which the measure was conceived and carried out. Later on, the North-West and the Punjab Local Boards Bills were passed. The North-West Bill embodied the scheme which had been framed by the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alfred Lyall, after a careful consideration of the report of the Provincial Committee, which he had appointed under the presidency of Mr. C. P. Carmichael. The scheme is, no doubt, a great improvement on that which found favour with Sir George Couper. The North-West Local Boards Bill provided for the introduction of the elective system in the constitution of Local Boards; but the mode of election sanctioned was a great disappointment. Sir Alfred Lyall did not adopt the elective system pure and simple. His plan consisted in the nomination of a consultative electoral body; or, in other words, he laid down the electors who would be themselves appointed by Government. As regards the appointment of President the North-West Bill provided that the Boards would be called upon to elect a President from among their own body, and that if the Boards did not like to exercise that power, the Government would appoint the Magistrate-Collector to be President. On the occasion of the passing of the Bill Dr. Hunter availed himself of the opportunity to explain the safeguards which had been provided therein against the abuse of their powers by the new Boards; but the learned Doctor did not attach sufficient weight to the fact that these safeguards reduced the Boards to the position of nonentities and placed them completely at the mercy of the executive. The arrangements to be made for bringing the North-West Local Boards into operation were under the consideration of the Local Government when the year closed. The new Municipal Act for the united provinces made no very substantial alterations in the existing law. It practically left matters where they were. The Punjab Local Boards Bill, too, found a place on the statute-book during the past year, but the measure did not fulfil the high expectations which had been raised by Sir Charles Aitchison's famous Resolution of September, 1882. Sir Charles' manifesto had marked him out as the warmest supporter of the new policy among the Provincial Governors. The Punjab Act in a word was an enabling rather than an enacting measure, it left almost every thing to the discretion of the Local Government. The public would have had no reason to complain of this arrangement, if it could have been guaranteed that the present Lieutenant-Governor's successors would be men of his stamp and breadth of view. But in the absence of such a guarantee, the public could not approve of the arrangement under which every thing has been left to the discretion of the Local Government. The Punjab Local Boards Act, moreover, provided for the imposition of additional burdens upon the people in the name of local self-government. This feature of the law was strongly and unanimously condemned by Native public opinion; but no heed was given to these reasonable representations. The members of the Legislative Council failed to realize that fresh taxation under the cover of Local Self-Government would make people distrust the whole scheme and lead them to think that it was a mere pretext for increasing their burdens. Orientals are notoriously suspicious and look upon all innovations with profound distrust. Both Lord Ripon and Sir Charles Aitchison took care to explain that the provisions relating to the imposition of new taxes would be applied with the greatest possible consideration; but this explanation, as might be expected, did not carry much weight with the public. A Bill to amend the Punjab Municipal Act was introduced into the Legislative Council and referred to a select committee for report. A Local Self-Government measure for British Burma was also passed during the past year. This Act gave the people of the province greater freedom in municipal administration than they had had before, but it did not provide for the establishment of Local Boards in rural tracts, as the province was not considered sufficiently advanced for such a measure. Among the other important Acts passed by the Viceroy's Legislative Council last year may be mentioned the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, Land Improvement Act and the Emigration Act. The first named measure as the first of the series of land laws on the model of the Irish Land Act, which the Government of India has determined to pass for the various provinces of the Bengal Presidency, excited much public interest. The authors of the Act proceeded on the assumption that proprietary rights in the Central Provinces were the creation of the British Government, although it was proved to demonostration that this view was utterly erroneous. The Act imported the fiast time into Indian legislation the principle of compensation for disturbance from the Irish Land Act; but it was shown by Dr. W. W. Hunter that the working of that principle in Ireland had not been satisfactory. Mr. Charles Crosthwaites' Land Improvement Loans Bill as originally introduced into the Council provided for the establishment of agricultural banks by private capitalists. On the occasion of the first reading of the Bill the Government scheme was fully explained by Sir Evelyn Baring. But the Select Committee to which the Bill was referred omitted the clauses relating to agricultural banks, the Government of India having decided to reserve the question for separate treatment. The Bill as finally passed was no doubt an improvement on the old law; but the Member in charge of it frankly admitted that there was not much hope that the new Act would cause any perceptible increase in the number of applications for loans. The Bill to regulate emigration to foreign countries was passed into law towards the close of the year. When the Bill came up before the Council a Native member insisted that the emigrant should be treated as a free agent and protected from fraud, misrepresentation and oppression. With a view to attain this important object, the member proposed some amendments, which were carried. One of these amendments would have been lost were it not for the kindly and powerful support of the Viceroy. Owing to the generous interposition of His Excellency who gave his casting vote in favour of the amendment, the intending emigrant would now have an opportunity to consult his friends and relatives about his career before he made up his mind, and he would, before leaving home, get an idea of the remuneration he might receive in the new sphere to which he was going to transfer his labour. Of the Bills introduced into the Viceroy's Legislative Council during the past year the most important were, of course, the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill and the Bengal Rent Bill. The introduction of these measures produced a widespread agitation which we have noticed above. On the occasion of the first debate in the Legislative Council upon the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill the Viceroy declared in the plainest and most emphatic terms that while he would give the most careful consideration to all reasonable objections that might be advanced against the measure he would not be influenced by any taunts, menaces or threats in giving effect to the declared policy of Parliament. His Excellency at the same time announced his intention to refer the Bill to the Local Governments and Administrations for an expression of their opinion. This reference elicited a mass of opinions, which showed that after ruling the country for upwards of a century the vast majority of Anglo-Indians were as unsympathetic and unyielding as ever. After considering the opinions of the local authorities the Government of India decided to restrict the exercise of criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects to Native District Magistrates and Sessions Judges. The Bill was thus cut down to an almost undistinguishable point. Still our countrymen accepted the modified Bill as an instalment of justice, and hoped that Lord Ripon would be strong enough to pass it. But alas! they were again disappointed. On the return of the Government of India to the Presidency negotiations were opened with the Defence Association and a *concordat* was arranged between that body and the Supreme Government. This was a splendid triumph for the Independent Britons and a humiliating defeat for the Government. The first debate in the Legislative Council upon the Bengal Rent Bill was worthy of the subject. It occupied two full days and was characterised by great ability. The Viceroy in winding up the debate, publicly invited all persons interested in the Bill to submit representations regarding its provisions and promised to take the same into the fullest and most attentive consideration. The Bill was referred to the local authorities in Bengal for report. This reference elicited a mass of valuable opinions, which conclusively showed that the most experienced officers in Bengal and Behar were opposed to its principles. The Select Committee on the Bill began its work on the return of the Government of India to the Presidency. The provincial Legislative Councils of Bengal, Bombay and Madras were not particularly active during the past year. The Bengal Council passed a most objectionable measure—to wit, the Darjeeling Hill Coolie Bill. The Viceroy, though appealed to, declined, to veto the measure, but it was partially disallowed by the Secretary of State. The Bengal Local Self-Government Bills were introduced early last year, but not much progress was made with them. The refusal of the Secretary of State to sanction the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal for the creation of a Central Board of Control rendered it necessary to recast the measures, and the question was under consideration when the year closed. The Bombay Local Self-Government Bills were introduced at Poona last autumn and the first debate upon them in the Legislative Council was most interesting. Two of the Native Members—Mr. V.

N. Mandlik and Mr. Budrudin Tyabji—sharply criticized the provisions of the Bills and showed that they were not calculated to advance the cause of local self-government to any perceptible extent. No business of any particular importance was transacted by the Madras Legislative Council during the past year, except the Madras Municipal Bill, which has produced much dissatisfaction among the native community.

FINANCE.

Sir Evelyn Baring's second Budget having introduced many important fiscal changes the effects of which it was desirable to watch closely for some time, his third financial statement was an unambitious and unpretentious document. It was published in the shape of a minute by the Finance Minister. It was not laid before the Legislative Council as it was not necessary to make any fresh legislation in connection with the financial arrangements of the year. As the law stands, the course adopted by the Finance Minister was perfectly right; but it is highly desirable that the Budget should be laid annually before the Legislative Council for open discussion. The accounts for 1881-82 shewed a surplus of £2,582,727; and the Revised estimates for 1882-83 indicated a surplus of £60,000. The estimate for 1883-84 which it was explained had been carefully framed looked for a surplus of £457,000. The Financial Statement, though it was not a sensational document, disclosed a satisfactory state of things. It discussed at some length the new forms of the accounts and estimates. It showed that notwithstanding the fall in the opium revenue and the sudden demand on account of the Egyptian war, the Finance Minister had been able to make the two ends meet without recourse to fresh loans or additional taxation. The most interesting chapters of the Budget were those which related to the effect of abolishing the import duties, the effect of reducing the duty on salt, and the position and prospects of the wheat trade. With [illegible] to the first, the facts given by the Finance [illegible]er tended to show that the abolition of the [illegible] duties had not materially stimulated [illegible]ce-goods trade; that the small increase [illegible]had occurred would have taken place all [illegible]ne even if the duties had not been re[illegible]. As for the effect of reducing the salt [illegible]e financial statement disclosed the fact [illegible]ough there had been a fall in the retail price of salt from one anna to nearly three annas per maund, the relief afforded to the tax-payer amounted to little more than one pie per head per mensem. The remarks on the development of the wheat trade with Europe were important and thoughtful. The Finance Minister announced that with a view to stimulating the export tade, the through railway rates on wheat and other grains and seeds from Delhi and Agra and Bombay had been reduced by 18½ per cent., equivalent, so far as wheat was concerned, to a reduction of 1s. 6d. per quarter in the London market. The Finance Minister wisely avoided any fiscal reforms last year, nevertheless it is a great pity that the License Tax remained unchanged. The Financial Statement shewed that the net cost of the Eyptian expedition during 1882-83 after deducting the £500,000 contributed by England amounted to £797,000. It was no fault of the Finance Minister that this iniquitous charge was imposed upon the Indian revenues. The publication of the correspondence on the subject clearly showed how very strongly Sir Evelyn Baring and Lord Ripon had protested against the proposal of the Home Government to throw upon India the extraordinary expenses of the Indian contingent to Egypt. They had clearly demonstrated the injustice of making India pay for a war in which she had no voice, and for which England was solely and wholly responsible, and but for their vigorous protest the English Treasury would not have contributed the £500,000 that it did.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Lord Ripon is not a patron of Jingoism and does not, therefore, favour what is called a spirited foreign policy. The most noticeable event connected with foreign policy during the past year was the grant of an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs to the Amir of Cabul. This grant was sanctioned with a view to exclude Russian influence from Cabul and enable Abdur Rahman to establish and consolidate his authority throughout the country. The policy of bestowing a fixed annual subvention upon the Amir of Cabul did not quite commend itself to us. We doubted whether this subsidy would enable Abdur Rahman to establish his authority in Herat; and we showed that no amount of pecuniary assistance given to the ruler of Afghanistan would have the effect of excluding Muscovite influence from that country. Nevertheless, we heartily approved of Lord Ripon's decision not to impose treaty obligations upon the Amir. His Lordship wisely thought that to enter into engagements with the ruler of Afghanistan would involve India in embarrassments and complications. The mysterious death at Jummu of Mr. W. H. Johnson, for many years Governor of Ladakh in Kashmir, his death-bed assertion that he had been poisoned by the Maharaja's officials, and his posthumous claim of sums exceeding lakhs of rupees from the Durbar, created some sensation in the early part of the past year. The Maharaja acted very wisely in courting a full and searching examination into the whole affair. A portion of the Anglo-Indian press, as usual, raised a hue and cry against His Highness and made Mr. Johnson's death-bed statements a pretext for demanding the annexation of the Happy Valley. Fortunately for the Maharaja Colonel Sir Oliver St. John happened to be the officer on special duty at the time. He made a careful investigation into the whole case. The medical evidence produced at the investigation established beyond the shadow of a doubt that Mr. Johnson died of natural causes, and after an enquiry conducted in a judicial frame of mind Sir Oliver St. John pronounced the claims of the executors of Mr. Johnson's estate as either fictitious or illusory. The Maharaja was naturally deeply annoyed at the ingratitude of a man whom he had invariably treated with great kindness and liberality. Nevertheless, His Highness generously assigned a pension of a hundred rupees a month to Mr. Johnson's widow. The installation of the young Maharana of Dholepore took place in February last, and His Highness has already given proofs of his ability to administer the affairs of his State. Towards the close of the year disturbances broke out in Bikanir, which had for years been terribly mismanaged. The Maharaja had serious differences with some of his Thakurs, who rebelled against this authority. All efforts of the Political Agent to effect an amicable settlement between the Durbar and the rebellious Thakurs having failed a small force was ordered to march into Bikanir, but the mere marching of British troops was sufficient to efface the rebellion. It is, however, a pity that even after the submission of the Thakur of Bidasur, the ringleader, the Government destroyed his stronghold. As the rebellion originated from the prolonged misrule of the State, it remains to be seen what steps the Foreign Office will take to introduce reforms in its administration. Hyderabad affairs attracted a good deal of public attention during the past year. The lamented death of Sir Salar Jung at the beginning of the year was an irreparable loss to that State. Sir Steuart Bayley, who had been Resident at the Court of the Nizam, was sent down from head-quarters to make the necessary arrangements for the administration of the State during the remainder of the Nizam's minority. The Peskar, Raja Narendra Prasad, was made first administrator, with Sir Salar Jung's eldest son Liak Ali, as his junior, and a Council of Regency was formed. The arrangement did not work smoothly or satisfactorily. Sir Salar Jung's strong hand having been removed intrigues became rife in the State, and its affairs fell into disorder and confusion. The Chanda Railway scheme was matured during the past year. The memorandum of the Association Company to construct the undertaking as a broad-gauge line was registered in London in the closing week of the year. An agitation having been set on foot at Hyderabad to protest against the scheme, its ringleaders Dr. Aghore Nath Chatterjee, Principal of the Nizam's College and another gentleman, were summarily deported from His Highness's territory. Though we thought that Dr. Chatterjee had no business to meddle with politics, we did not hesitate to express our opinion that his deportation had been carried out in a high-handed, arbitrary and cruel manner. There was no justification whatever for subjecting him to such harsh treatment. Dr. Nisikanth Chatapadhya was appointed to succeed Dr. Aghorenath as the head of the Nizam's College—an arrangement which gave great satisfaction to our countrymen. In the autumn His Excellency the Viceroy made a tour through the Happy Valley and was entertained by His Highness the Maharaja with his wonted hospitality. This tour has enabled His Excellency to see with his own eyes the state of things in Kashmir, and Lord Ripon must have satisfied himself that severe illness of the Maharaja prevents him from effecting the reforms which he has long contemplated in the system of his administration.

DOMESTIC POLICY.

In reviewing Lord Ripon's domestic policy during the past year, the development of the Local Self-Government scheme must first claim our attention. We have noticed elsewhere the measures which were adopted during the past twelve months in order to give effect to the views of the Supreme Government in the direction of extending local self-government. We have shown that the various Local Governments and administrations did their best to minimize the boon conferred by Lord Ripon. The only Province into which the new scheme was introduced last year was the Central Provinces. In ruling the country His Lordship wished to walk in broad day-light. During the past year the Supreme Government passed final orders on the subject of giving wide publicity to legislative Bills and encouraging the press to act its part properly as the exponent of public opinion. It was decided that Bills, Statements of Objects and Reasons and the debates of the Legislative Council should be printed in a cheap form for sale or gratuitous distribution to the public. The important question of establishing fuel and fodder reserves received the attention of the Government of India during the past year and steps were taken to give effect to the recommendations of Famine Commission on the subject. The rules for competitive examination for Secretariat clerkships were amended. Lord Ripon is keenly alive to the desirability of encouraging indigenous industries and local manufactures. The policy of substituting country-made articles for imported articles where this could be done consistently with the interests of the taxpayer was vigorously carried out during the past year. If the Local Governments and officers had acted in the spirit in which the policy had been conceived by the Supreme Government, there can be no doubt that a new era had dawned upon the country. There are materials and men enough in the country; what is wanted for their efficient employment is capital, energy and skill, and these will not be wanting if the Government sincerely encourage them. It is a matter of deep regret that with a view to encourage indigenous industries and local manufactures, the Government of Lord Ripon thought it necessary to suppress jail manufactures summarily. The Secretary of State put his foot upon the Resolution of the Government of India of September 1882 and requested Lord Ripon to consult the Local Governments on the subject. It is not known what opinions the Local Governments have expressed on the question, but the suppression of jail manufactures would involve a wanton sacrifice of revenue and make it exceedingly difficult to find suitable employment for convicts. The Native manufacturers and traders do not complain of competition with jail manufacturers. Complaints have no doubt been made by the European share-holders of cotton and woollen mills in the Upper Provinces, but it would not be wise to put an end to the existing system for the sake of a handful of European speculators, more especially when it is borne in mind that manufactures are carried on in English prisons. The question of establishing agricultural banks received the careful attention of the Government of India during the past year. Lord Ripon and his advisers framed a scheme for encouraging private capitalists to lend small sums to the agricultural classes at moderate rates of interest and submitted it to the Secretary of State for consideration. But the scheme

not being published in the country, we do not know what it is. Lord Ripon's domestic policy would have received greater development during the year, had it not been for the controversies awakened by the unhappy Ilbert Bill. There was one feature in the domestic policy of Lord Ripon's Government, which we could not sufficiently regret, *viz.*, the attempts made to give the land no rest. The country is threatened with projects of land legislation, which if carried into effect will set class against class, flood the country with litigation, and sow broadcast the seeds of dissatisfaction and discontent.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The general administration of the Provinces during the past year proceeded on the lines already laid down; there was not much to distinguish it from the general run of events. Sir James Fergusson again allowed another year to pass without doing anything to mitigate the sufferings of the Deccan ryots. His Excellency, however, distinguished himself by a unseemly squabble with the Judges of the High Court. The only good thing the Bombay Government did last year was to take up the celebrated Rutnagiri shooting case to the High Court, and when the Court declined to re-open it, Sir James Fergusson did all that lay in his power to mark his disapproval of Mr. Hewett's conduct removing him from the public service and declaring him incapable to serve Government again in any capacity. In dealing with the Junaghur affair Sir James was found wanting, but the Supreme Government partially rectified his mistake. Mr. Grant Duff, as usual, talked much and did little. The most striking event of the past year in the Southern Presidency was the dismissal of a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. Mr. John Wallace was removed from his position of District and Sessions Judge for having offered an insult to Mr. D. T. Carmichael, the senior Member of the local Executive Council. Mr. Wallace had from the first been unfit for the position of a covenanted civilian, but no notice was taken of his unfitness until he had offended against the dignity of a high executive officer. The eternal Chingleput scandal cropped up again and showed Mr. Grant-Duff's want of administrative ability and courage. The local Legislative Council passed a new Municipal Act last year, but a petition was presented to the Viceroy praying His Excellency to veto the measure. The administration of Bengal during the year was marked by some bad cases of high-handed proceedings on the part of certain district and magisterial officers, subversive alike of law and the liberty of the subject. In the Pubna case which occurred at the very beginning of the year the Magistrate who tried the accused zemindar Azim Chowdhree was virtually the prosecutor as he had set the machinery of the police in motion. The high-handed proceedings of the local executive officers in the Chittagong and Dacca cases created a great scandal. We regret deeply that such cases should occur so frequently under the enlightened rule of Lord Ripon. Strange to say that while the head of the Government shows so much consideration for the feelings of the people and takes so much pains to secure them justice and fair play, there should be district officers who should override law, justice and humanity. For obvious reasons such cases come to public notice more in Bengal than in the other provinces. The press is more powerful in this Province and it helps in dragging into light abuses of power. These abuses will, however, be sufficiently checked, if the Local Government will deal with them firmly. The failure of the October rains in Bengal created a great deal of anxiety regarding the state and prospects of the crops. Mr. River Thomson took prompt steps in order to ascertain the actual condition of things. He called for detailed reports from the divisional Commissioners, and after considering them carefully came to the conclusion that though there might be some distress in isolated tracts there would be nothing like a general scarcity. Everything will, however, depend on the outturn of the rubbee harvest. If the spring crops are fairly good the people will generally be able to tide over the current year without any interference on the part of Government. An agricultural bureau was created in Bengal and an experimental farm established in conection with it. Mr. Rivers Thompson also appointed a Commission under the presidency of Mr. J. W. Edgar to report on the whole system of excise in country spirits in this Province. Sir Alfred Lyall passed final orders on the organisation of the Agra College as an aided institution. He sanctioned a grant-in-aid of Rs. 10,000 from the Provincial revenues and gave the Trustees power to make such changes in the staff of the college as they might think fit. The movement for the resuscitation of the Bareilly College made some progress during the past year. In the Punjab Sir Charles Aitchison quietly did much useful work. He partially threw open the Subordinate Judicial Service to educated Natives, and in presiding at the second convocation of the Punjab University he amply vindicated the cause of high education in the Province. In the Central Provinces Sir John Morris was succeeded by Mr. W. B. Jones, on whose work it is yet too early to pronounce a judgment. Mr. Elliot conducted the administration of Assam with his usual vigor and ability. The peace of the North-East frontier was disturbed towards the close of the year by a raid of the Akas, and measures were promptly adopted to punish the tribe. But Mr. Elliot, we are sorry to say, still lends countenance to the system of forced labour and he has brought radical ideas of land settlement from the North-Western Provinces. The Assam Land Regulation has created great alarm among the landholders in that province. British Burma flourishes under the fostering care of Mr. Charles Crosthwaite, who has proved a worthy successor to Mr. Bernard. He has energetically applied himself to the task of keeping the dacoits under check.

GENERAL.

The past year was a year of general activity. There was not a corner of the country, into which political life was not infused by the introduction of the unhappy Ilbert Bill. The year was rendered memorable by the opening of the first International Exhibition in Calcutta. It is a grand undertaking and will be productive of much good. It has brought down to the metropolis many feudatory chiefs and people from the various parts of the country. The Report of the Education Commission was published during the past year. It is a masterly document and quite worthy of the literary reputation of its learned President. The Government of India has referred the report to the Local Governments and Administration for an expression of their opinion upon the recommendations contained therein, before giving them effect. The Supreme Government recorded an interesting Resolution on the important subject of conserving the ancient monuments with which the country abounds: Commerce was active enough during the past year, but the days of large profits have gone by never to return. In these days of Railways, Telegraphs and Suez Canal Steamers there is so much competition that all merchants must be content with small profits. The reduction of railway rates of which we have already spoken gave an impetus to the export trade in grain, and more especially in wheat. In the field of education there has been considerable activity. During the past year several additions were made to our periodical press both vernacular and English. Several cheap weekly papers conducted in English were started, and some of them have attained to a wide circulation. The different political, literary and scientific societies of the country were distinguished by their usual activity. The temple for the Science Association, we are glad to state, is in course of construction.

CALCUTTA.

The past year will remain memorable in the annals of Calcutta for the opening of the first International Exhibition in India, to which we have alluded above. Early last year an agitation was set on foot regarding the condition of the sewers in the city and a special committee of the Corporation was appointed to enquire into and report on the matter. A formal complaint was laid before the Government by certain malcontents against the Corporation, but the storm has since blown away.

OBITUARY.

Death was very busy in high life during the past year. Two most eminent Indian statesmen of the day passed away at the beginning of the year. The death of Sir Salar Jung was a national calamity. He has left a gap which will not be easily filled. The death of Mr. Ranga Charloo deprived the Maharaja of Mysore of a most able, energetic, and honest minister. The task of reconstructing the State on its rendition had devolved upon him, and he had began the work in right earnest. The Raja of Kolhapore died a victim to his mental aberration. Among other noteworthy men who were gathered to their fathers during the past twelve months may be mentioned the Maharaja of Bettiah, Raja Promothonath Roy of Digaputhia, Mr. J. G. Coleman of Madras, and Babu Peary Chand Mitter of Calcutta.

CONCLUSION.

The above is a brief and necessarily imperfect and hurried retrospect of the past year. During it hopes were raised but crushed, aspirations fostered but extinguished, and the public mind excited but at last brought to desperation. May the New Year under God's blessing prove more prosperous!

THE TOWN HALL MEETING ON THE TENANCY BILL.

NOT only in point of numbers and in the representative character of the meeting was it a great success, but also as regards the speeches delivered on the occasion. The peculiar feature of the programme of the meeting was that the leaders of Calcutta society purposely kept themselves in the back-ground and allowed the representatives from the provinces to speak. The chair was taken by His Highness the Maharaja of Durbhanga, whose opening speech was a lucid statement of the case of the zemindars. As the premier Zemindar of Bengal he expressed the opinion of his brethren when he said: "I am pretty certain that such an iniquitous and one-sided Bill can never be made into law, if we only take proper measures to agitate the question, and put forward all our strong points before the eyes of the public. We do not want any concessions. All that we wish is that our vested rights should be kept intact, and we want nothing more. As an ex-ward of Government he thus turned the table against the Government. The Government itself was obliged to have recourse to the system of distraint. In fact, as manager of two of the largest zemindaries in Behar, it went much further. It never thought of serving the ryots with a notice, and in many cases, instead of simply distraining the crops of the ryots for the arrears, it distrained their crops for rents that were not then due. This in itself shows that in certain cases a zemindar cannot possibly do anything without this power of distraint." Again: "Though the official members are very keen on taking away this power from us, they do not intend to abolish the Government-system of summary sale of zemindaries. A system which makes it possible for a zemindary paying a Government revenue of a lakh of rupees to be sold off for an arrear of one pie. Now I say is it fair, is it just, is it dignified for the Government to have the power to sell up a zemindar's properties in this summary way, not only for the arrears that are due by the zemindar, but for arrears which are due to Government by his ryots? In reply to all this, we are told that we still have the power to sue. But if the best method of realizing rents is by putting in suits, then why is it that the Government follows a different system? Why does it not make itself amenable in its own zemindaries to the same laws as a zemindar?" The earnestness with which the Maharaja spoke attests the depth of feeling, which the Tenancy Bill has stirred in all zemindaries, big or small.

The Maharaja of Doomraon, who moved the first Resolution, was almost pathetic in his description of the position of the zemindar in the light of the new Bill. His Highness said:

> Under the worst of Moguls your proprietary rights were ever respected. He extorted; he at times took away the management of the zemindaries from your hands; but he never questioned or confiscated your proprietary rights therein.

Gentlemen, it is said that you were then mere collectors of Government revenue. The histories of many of the families, whose representatives I see around me, give a flat contradiction to that position. The zemindaries, which have descended to me from a long line of ancestors, existed, as I learn, from my family records, from a time long anterior to the Mohamedan conquest of the country, and my ancestors possessed greater rights, and privileges than I have now come to enjoy under the Permanent Settlement. That settlement, gentlemen fully recognised our rights, and these rights have never before this been questioned by Government or by Courts of Law.

But now the zemindar is declared to be only a one-fifth partner of his ancestral property!

Babu Dwarkanath Chuckerbutty, who supported the Resolution, made a telling speech. He thus compared the Governments of Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon:

Sir, the Government of the late Viceroy was bitterly taunted for their aggressive policy. We were told of the immeasurable wickedness and surpassing folly of the wars they carried on, the perpetual unrest into which they plunged the empire; but it seems to me the Government of the present Viceroy is actuated by a spirit of keen competition in this path of glory, only the scene is changed of its operation. During the time of the late Viceroy, we had a war of nations abroad: during the present regime, we have a war of races at home. The Government of Lord Lytton fought with gunpowder and cannon: the Government of Lord Ripon's delight to throw legislative explosives in our midst. There is no doubt of this, gentlemen, that if this Bill ever becomes law, it will cause a fearful upheaval of society.

He then gave an emphatic contradiction to the statement that the Bengal ryots were worse off than the other classes of the community. He said:

I deny that the agricultural classes, generally speaking are more miserable in their social condition than the majority of the forty-five millions of salaried and nonproductive classes of the community. But it is not I who deny it for the first time; the Government records during the last semi-decade the reports of the Commissioners of the several divisions have told the same tale, they all speak of the progressive prosperity and the substantial comfort of the peasantry in all parts of Bengal, and this official testimony is every year sealed with the sanction, and the high authority of the head of the Local Government.

The only classes which are sinking day by day lower and lower in the scale are the salaried servants of the inferior grades, and the non-productive middle classes, as I say according to the last census, which altogether aggregate about forty-five millions out of total population of sixty-nine, or nearly 75 per cent. The Government, therefore, stands convicted out of its own mouth in this part of the discussion; but supposing even that matters were otherwise, that the agricultural classes were plunged into the horrors of a miserrble existence what connection can there be? What connection has there been proved to be between this phenomenon and the land laws of the country? Undoubtedly there are the land laws for the tenants, miserable or prosperous, and because they exist, is one the cause of the other? Why then official logic is all right and we are all wrong? If that is the political diagnosis of the eminent statesmen who add lustre to the Viceregal Council, it is certainly not of a character which we mutually believe can fully follow. You won't analyse critically any group of social facts. You won't eliminate irrelevant factors, but will jump at a conclusion. Why, sir, this inductive process will beat all political quackery.

What are the classes which contribute most powerfully to the recipients of relief during the times of famine?—it is the landless day-labourers and the artisans. There might be distress amongst the small cultivators; but that is so, not because there is anything defective in the landlaws, but because the population in these parts of the country pressed most unduly upon land, because fertile cultivation is carried beyond all bounds of prudence, beyond all legitimate support because you have to deal with an infinitely expensive population on a constant, fixed, unchangeable area of food produced the density being 824 in Mozufferpore, 843 in Tirhoot, and 763 in Durbhunga. The real remedy is industrial development—open to the people new careers of industry by technicalizing our national education, relieve one strain upon the soil by placing at the disposal of the population other sources of employment, and then only, and not till then, will you be able to make the people able to support themselves during seasons of distress. But rulers turn a deaf ear to all suggestions for industrial development.

The arguments of Babu Dwarkanath Chuckerbutty so eloquently enunciated ought to carry conviction to every impartial mind. Mr. Bell, who spoke with his usual ability, thus followed up Babu Dwarkanath's comparison of the past and present administrations of India:

I was much struck with what my friend behind me said when he contrasted the aggressive policy of Lord Ripon with the agressive policy of Lord Lytton; but my friend omitted to state that Lord Lytton's arms were directed against the enemies of this country, whilst Lord Ripon is attacking those who have always been the support of the British Government (applause.) That is the remarkable difference between the policy of the two Viceroys.

Mr, Bell thus concluded:

I read the other day the epitaph on his monument, and I think that the words upon it correctly describe our feelings; that "after the monument is crumbled into dust, millions will still attest the wisdom of his conduct, and the virtue of his life" (applause.) Gentlemen, I hope that Lord Ripon will condescend to emulate the example of his illustrious predecessor (applause.) I am sure that if he does, if he examines this question with the care, the caution, the deliberation of Lord Cornwallis, he will arrive at a conclusion, which will be satisfactory to you; he will withdraw this Bill which is fraught with such danger to the peace and prosperity of the country (loud applause.)

Amen!

Babu Taraprosunno Mookerjea delivered an excellent speech; if his voice had been equal to his argument, he would have produced a great effect at the meeting. He thus characterized the Bill:

If I were to regard my private interests or those of my profession, I would rejoice at the passing of this Bill, for if there is increase of litigation it is sure to bring some money into my pocket, but in view of the injuries which it will inflict on the middle classes of our country and the rich and propertied classes, as well as the ryots, who will be tempted to enter into litigation, I deprecate the measure from the bottom of my heart. It aims at a redistribution of landed property. Its object is not the maintenance of existing rights by removing doubts, which might otherwise attached to them, clearly defining them by the erection of sign-posts and boundary pillars, so as to prevent confusion and encroachment on them, but the extinction of existing rights in favour of one section of the community and creation of new ones in favour of another section. But it seems, gentlemen, the action of Government in taking away rights from the landlords and in conferring them on ryots is equally unreasonable and misguided. It perpetrates an action of confiscation with the right hand in order to confer a boon with the left. The conduct of Government is indefensible and unprecedented. The action of Government can be aptly compared to the mild course of a tropical torrent, which on one bank carries off extensive rice-fields, splendid mansions and beautiful gardens, and deposits rich enlivening soil on another.

Raja Hurbullubnarain Sing said that the Bill had already tended to depreciate the value of landed property. He said:

A friend of mine, whose name I need not mention, and whose zemindari lies in zillas Purneah, Dinagepore, and Bhugulpore, wants to part with some of his estates, but he has failed to meet with the purchasers on a 15 years' purchase value, though there exist no dispute or anything bad in the title to the estates.

Mr. Gregor Grant, zemindar, Bhaugulpore, said:

I have been a resident in the Bhaugulpore district for over forty two years, and have had a great deal in that time to see with zemindaries and zemindari work, and am, therefore in a position to offer an opinion as to the mischievous tendency of constantly intermeddling on the part of Government between landlords and tenant. What the Government profess to do in the interests of the tenant, somehow or other always turns out to his disadvantage.

My whole life's earnings have been invested in the security of landed property. If the present Bill becomes law, the zemindar, to whom I have lent all my earnings on mortgage of his estates, will be unable to repay me the money I have given him, as his property will become greatly depreciated in value, and I will be unjustly deprived of the greater part of my life's earnings, on which had relied as a provision for my old age.

We hope the Government will ponder over this position.

The Hon'ble Harbans Sahai said:

Well, if then, in the august wisdom of its Council, the Government deem it essential to the welfare of the tenantry to deprive the landlords of their just rights inherited from generation to generation, confirmed by the Permanent Settlement, and consecrated by a century of British rule, it is nothing but just, fair and reasonable that you should solicit Government to consider the justice of allowing you to surrender your estates on receiving such compensation in money, as will, when invested in Government securities, produce a permanent return equal to your present income. Well, Sir, what will be your zemindaries that you will care to retain them after the passing of the Bill.

Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, who supported the compensation Resolution, pithily remarked:

Granting for the sake of argument that in the vocabulary of the Permanent Settlement, the word "proprietor" was not used in its ordinary sense, but to convey the idea of something like a trustee—a gomasta—or a collecting sirkar if you like, and granting also that for the long series of ninety years and upwards, great statesmen, legislators and judges have been continuously blundering and floundering with regard to the construction of the Permanent Settlement, and that it was reserved for certain high officials of the present day to detect the mistake and to find out the true interpretation, which happens to be so very much in unison with the modern spirit of radicalism—granting, I say, all this and more, it cannot be denied that during this period large transactions in the shape of sales, gifts and mortgages have taken place, and large sums have been invested in land in the bonafied belief and honest conviction that the zemindars were the "actual proprietors of the soil," and that this belief has been originated and fostered by the alleged mistaken action of the Government itself. Now, I would take the liberty to ask is it just, is it fair, is it reasonable for the Government to make the zemindars suffer, to punish them, as it were for the so-called mistake of its own officers? Their only fault seems to be that they have placed implicit faith in the words of the Government and that they have accepted the interpretation which successive responsible officers of that Government have put on the Permanent Settlement for a period of nearly a hundred years. The slave-owners, it is said, though their action was opposed to the law of nature, received compensation when slavery was abolished; is landowning then such a crime, that the land-owners are not to receive the same consideration that even slave-owners had shown to them? I anxiously await the decision of Government. (Loud applause.)

Raja Shamasunker Roy thus dwelt on the proprietory rights of the Zemindars:

The testimony on this point is borne out even by independent Europeans; Mr. Nolan, the great friend of ryots, in his speech on the occasion of the installation of the present Maharaja of Doomraon, who was kindly favoured with his presence, said:—that the founder of that noble family flourished in Bhojpore, when Peter the Hermit preached a crusade to the chivalry of Europe, the old and ancient independent Chiefs of Cooch Behar and Hill Tipperah also own large zemindaries in Bengal, have been deprived of sovereign rights in them. I may mention many other houses in Bengal, such as Bishenpore, Rajnugger in Beerbhoom, of very old standing. The zemindar familes of Sobsoong, Bangadhicari Mahashoi of Moorshedabad, Maharajas of Dinagepore, Puttea, Burdwan, Nuddea, Nattore, Durbhungah, Bettiah and Hutwa, who have received proprietary grants of lands and titles of honor during the times of Baber, Akbar and other Emperors of the great Mogul dynasty. Many of these families date their origin therefore from the times of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth of England. The proprietary rights of these noblemen have never been questioned during the many changes of sovereigns in Bengal and Behar; even the convulsive revolution which took place in Bengal during the time of Shere Afghan could not obliterate some of these families. The rights which have been thus enjoyed by right of inheritance and absolute enjoyment of many centuries, surely cannot be confiscated on mere sentimental grounds; but why go we to these ancient times? We will search the period which is replete with records and the confirmation of the rights of zemindars by our Govern ment, that is, the times of the Permanent Settlement of 1793.

Mr. J. G. Apcar said:

It is with very great pleasure that I have responded to the invitation of your Committee to assist at this meeting; and I have the more readily done so because it is with my native fellow subjects that I now join hands. (Applause.)

In what manner has this Rent Bill come before us? It has been brought forward, not merely on insufficient evidence but on no evidence at all. It has been framed upon assumption; it is pressed forward by men who have been selected by Government for the purpose. If it was required that there should be proper legislation, I would ask why is it and how is it that those who possess ripe experience and mature judgement have been studiously kept away from dealing with it? Why it is and how is it the assistance of Mr. Dampier, of Mr. Munro, and of our learned Advocate-General has not been called in? There is a most eminent lawyer in the Council, who is in favour of the Bill; why does not Government make room for a lawyer who does not agree with Lord Ripon on the question to cope with him? Is this the way to legislate? Legislation should proceed for the good of all; and I certainly do deprecate any attempts being made here in India to legislate for the purposes of political parties in England. (Applause.) In opposing this measure, it is not a question of party politics at all. Liberals oppose it. I would instance my friend, Mr, Keswick, who is a strong Liberal, or at least was so until the definition of that term came to be a person who is generous at other persons' expense.

We have not space for more extracts. All the speeches were to the point and more or less spirited. There was no froth about them. The Hindi speeches were excellent, particularly those of Babu Nundunlal and Syud Looft Ali Khan's Agent. The address of the latter was really spirits-tirring.

LATEST NEWS AND NOTES

IN ACCORDANCE with the time-honored custom we wish our subscribers, readers, friends and supporters a Happy Happy New Year and many many returns of the same!

THE ENGLISHMAN gives currency to a rumour that the Lieutenant-Governor intends to go home on sick leave. We are glad to be in a position to state that there is no truth in the rumour. Mr. Thompson does not intend to go to England. The state of His Honor's health may compel him to take short leave for a few weeks to obtain rest and change of air, but even with regard to this nothing we believe is yet settled.

IN ANOTHER column we give an abstract of the debate on the Ilbert Bill at last Friday's sitting of the Vice-regal Council. It will be seen that the debate has been adjourned on the motion of Mr. Evans. The hitch alluded to by him is we believe this—it is contended that what is meant by the first clause of the settlement is that when brought before a District Magistrate for trial if the accused European British subject should demand trial by Jury, his case should be transfered to the Sessions Judge. Mr. Evans said that he and the European community did not understand the clause in that sense. He would therefore take time to consider it. The Council was therefore adjourned. We reserve remarks till the debate is concluded. In the meantime we hope that the Bill will not be hurried through. To pass it immediately after the report of the Select Committee in one week would be scandalous. For the sake of the Europeans the Bill has been allowed to hang fire for ten months. Will not sufficient time be allowed to the native

public to consider the amendments, which may be made by the Select Committee?

MR. LEVINGE, the Public Works Secretary to the Government of Bengal, retires in the effluxion of time. He is still in full vigour of life but under the inexorable rule of 55 years he goes out. Mr. Levinge's connection with the Bengal Secretariat constitutes an era in the history of material improvement in Bengal. It was an era of railways and canals and large buildings in Bengal, and Mr. Levinge had a large share in maturing the schemes and carrying them into execution. Apart from his professional abilities Mr. Levinge was careful in dealing with all matters, which came before him. He was kind to his subordinates. He carries our best wishes.

IT HAS BEEN brought to our notice that native gentlemen visiting the Exhibition are sometimes insulted by the Policemen and others in charge of the Exhibition grounds. This is we are told is particularly the case in the Jewellery Court. Europeans and Eurasians are freely admitted into this court even when there is a crowd, but native gentlemen are kept out on the ground of overcrowdedness. Then it is complained that the Police roughly handle native visitors, particularly the four-anna men. We do hope that Mr. Joubert will take steps to remove these complaints.

AMONG the many English visitors, who are now in Calcutta at this season we may mention one, who has come here on a tour of observation. He is Mr. W. Green, J. P. of the Copse, Kidderminster. He was formerly Mayor of Kidderminster. His object is to study the people and the institutions of India to advocate their cause in England.

THE FIRST January honors of the year are confined only to the Order of the Indian Empire. The under-mentioned gentlemen have been appointed Companions of this Order;

Colonel Robert Home, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers; Mr. Baden Powell, Additional Commissioner, Rawalpindi and Lahore Divisions; Pundit Het Ram, Dewan of the Rewah State; Mr. John Faithful Fleet, Bombay Civil Service; the Zemindar of Punganur in North Arcot; Nawab Imam Baksh Khan, Mazari Chief, Dera Ghazi Khan District; Sirdar Ajit Singh Attariwala, Honorary Assistant Commissioner, Punjab; Mr. George Alfred Barnett, Agent, Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company; Mr. Naoroji Fardunji, Member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation; and Babu Chota Lall Sijwar, Honorary Magistrate, Gya.

We congratulate Mr Naorojee Furdoonjee on the honor conferred on him. He has long served the public with devotedness and distinction.

THE MAHOMEDAN LITERARY SOCIETY waited in deputation upon His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad with an address of welcome. His Highness returned a hearty reply. We regret we can not give the address and the reply for want of space. His Highness and suite left Calcutta on Saturday last.

MR. SEYMOUR KEAY'S address at the TownHall on Thursday last on the condition of the people of India was well timed. The meeting was attended by a large number of educated natives, presided over by Maharaja Narendrakrishna, in the absence of Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, who was prevented by illness from being present on the occasion. The burden of Mr. Keay's address was the exposition of the condition of the Indian ryot under the State Landlord. The ryot is steeped in misery. He said:

The first evil of the British land system is that the revenue is usually assessed and settled for 30 years by a Survey and settlement Department, which knows little and cares little about the actual produce of the soil. It fixes the tax according to certain purely theoretical rules, usually totally wrong in principle, and which, in fact, merely amount to an elaborate system of guess-work. Having thus fastened its charges on one ditrict, the Department calmly passes on to another, leaving the revenue officers not only powerless to reduce them, but bound to collect the amount from the peasantry as best they can. Their survey rules have been well likened to a bed of torture, on which all the different classes of cultivators in the different provinces are stretched in turn. In practice the Survey and Settlement Departments have now only two objects in life—first, to extract as much of the ryot's produce out of him as possible, and second, to persuade themselves and the public that they are only taking a very small share of it.

We may take a future opportunity to go into details. Mr. Keay remarked: "From these facts the Bengal ryot may judge for himself whether his lot would be better under a British, than it is under a native landlord; while the zemindar may, if he pleases, take these facts to the Government of India, and addressing them in the words of the Hebrew proverb, may say, "Physician, heal thyself." We say *ditto*.

MR. KEAY made the following remarks on the Permanent Settlement:

Nothing more strikes the stranger on arriving in your beautiful province of Bengal than the great amount of material prosperity and political life visible among the native communities, compared with what is found in the other provinces of this vast empire. No student of history, no superficial observer even, can be at a loss to discover the reason, or can hesitate to trace it to the essential difference between the land revenue system of Bengal and that of the rest of India—in a word, to the existence of the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The Permanent Settlement, by limiting for ever the revenue demands of the State, has preserved in the hands of the natives of the province, whether they be ryots or zemindars, vast amounts of the people's own income and capital, which in the empire generally has been drained off into the Indian treasury, and thence in great part away to England. To any one aware how ruinously this foreign drain is affecting the empire generally, this one consideration is sufficient to make him a staunch advocate, not only of the maintenance of the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal, but of its extension to all the other provinces of India.

This is one of the reasons why we support the Permanent Settlement.

THE ENGLISHMAN is unnecessarily hard upon Mr. Keay. His object we believe is to do good to India. Whatever his own influence in England, he has, as the prospectus of the Indian Reform Association shews, secured the sympathy and co-operation of a large number of M.Ps., who feel interested in Indian affairs. He proposes to work through them, and if he succeeds in his labours, he will surely be able to fulfil the object he has in view. We believe he has the sympathy of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and this gentleman is rapidly forming a new party in Parliament. India is unrepresented in Parliament, and unless influential M.Ps. lend her a voice she cannot expect to obtain a hearing. Any person, who will get her this hearing, will deserve well of her.

WE ARE not in the habit of noticing the proceedings of Debating Clubs, but the anniversary meeting of the Sobhabazar Debating Club, founded by Kumar Nilkrishna, the eldest son of Maharaja Komulkrishna, held on Saturday last, was one of more than ordinary interest. The chair was taken by Mr. A. Mackenzie, the distinguished Home Secretary. Mr. N. Ghose, Barrister-at-law, read a paper on English Education in India, Babu Surendranath Banerjea and others addressed the meeting. The Chairman wound up the proceedings with an eloquent address. About 300 gentlemen were present at the meeting; among others Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. Seymour Keay, Mr. Browne, Mr. Cotton, &c.,

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DR. DE JONGH'S LIGHT BROWN COD LIVER OIL.—ITS UNEQUALLED EFFICACY IN CONSUMPTION AND DISEASES OF THE CHEST.—The Medical Profession of all countries now consider Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil as incomparably the most valuable remedy for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest. No remedy so rapidly restores the exhausted strength, improves the nutritive functions, stops emaciation, checks the perspiration, quiets the cough and expectoration, or produces a more marked and favorable influence on the local malady. Dr Waudby, Physician to the Hereford Infirmary, writes:—"I can take Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil without any difficulty or dislike, and with as little inconvenience as water alone. Not only in my own case, but in many others I have seen, it has caused an improvement of chest symptoms and an increase of weight, so soon and so lastingly, as to be quite remarkable. I believe Dr. de Jongh's Oil to be the most valuable remedy we possess for chronic and constitutional disease." Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil is sold only in capsuled imperial half-pints, pints and quarts, with his stamp and signature and the signature of his sole consignees on the capsule and the lebel under wrapper, by all chemists, druggists and store-keepers. Sole Consignees, Ansar, Harford and Co., 77, Strand, London.

LOCAL.

THE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION BILL.

AT last Friday's sitting of the Vice-regal Council Mr. Ilbert moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs, the Hon'ble Sir A. Colvin, the Hon'ble Messrs. Evans, Quinton, Gibbon, Miller, Ameer Ally, and the Mover, with instructions to report in a week.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ilbert made an elaborate statement in which he reviewed the history of the Bill, some of the opinions recorded upon it, and the modifications proposed, and controverted the opinion propounded by Sir James Stephen regarding the Queen's Proclamation. He said: "However, since that announcement was made, it has been strongly pressed upon us by persons whose opinion is entitled to great weight that, however moderate and cautious our proposals might be, yet there was a certain risk of an explosion of race-feeling taking place when the new law came to be put into force. And however much we might deplore and condemn the spirit which renders such a risk possible, yet we felt it to be our duty to minimise that risk by any means which might appear to be practicable and justifiable."

"Accordingly, we have agreed to accept a suggestion which has been made to us with this view, and which would have the effect of slightly extending the system of trial by jury. The suggestion is that a European British subject, when brought for trial before a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, should have the right if he thinks fit to claim it, to be tried by a jury, such as was provided for by section 451 of the C. P. Code, subject to two conditions,—first that no distinction is to be made between European British Magistrates and Judges; and secondly, that the punitory powers of District Magistrates over European British subjects are to be doubled, that is to say, are to be extended to imprisonment for six months or a fine of two thousand rupees. The punitory power of other Magistrates, that is to say, the power to imprison for three months or impose a fine of one thousand rupees, will be left untouched, and in cases tried before them the right to a jury will not be given."

The Hon'ble Dr. Hunter said:—On the one hand, I acknowledge that, as a whole, they will render the Bill a more acceptable measure. On the other hand, I deeply regret that one of those amendments, by extending to European British subjects, and to them alone, the jury system in trials before Magistrates, gives a fresh recognition to race-distinctions in matters of judicial procedure. But the question immediately before those members who agree with me on the main issue is not, whether they dislike the proposed amendments, or how far they think them capable of improvement by the Select Committee, but whether the proposals are of such a character as to justify them in withholding their vote from the general principle affirmed by the Bill as it lies on the table to-day. In my judgment, the proposed amendments do not justly that course.

The Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali said:—I perfectly admit that by the arrangement in question, the principle of the Bill has been thoroughly maintained with the acquiescence of the Anglo-Indians, which, by removing the bitterness of the controversy, constitutes no small gain to the cause of good government.

At the same time, I cannot conceal from myself the fact that, unless it is carefully safe-guarded, a machinery, which is devised for securing the safety of European British subjects, may be turned into an engine for the denial of justice to the natives of India.

The Hon'ble Mr. Miller was of opinion that the wisest and most statesman-like course would have been to drop the Bill. He added: I would state, in the clearest manner possible that, if there is, as I fear there is, reason to believe there is any double meaning possible in the terms of settlement which have been announced to the public, the difficulties which have been encountered will be tenfold increased, and I cannot support the motion that the Select Committee be directed to report in a week, unless some arrangement has been come to. It will not be possible otherwise to do this, and if it be attempted, it will only lead to worse mischief.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gibbon said:—I am not prepared to support the motion, that the Bill as it now stands shall be referred to a Select Committee; certainly not with instructions that the Committee report in a week. In an important matter such as this is, we would require to have the proposals of the Government fully laid before us. We require time to consider the provisions of the measure more carefully than we have as yet been able to do. Why should the subject be allowed trial by jury before a District Magistrate and not before his subordinate? Are we to understand that the District Magistrate is not to try minor cases? I am not prepared to send it in its present form to the Select Committee, nor to see it reported on in a week.

The Hon. Kristo Das Pal said:—My Lord—I approach this subject with a mingled feeling of satisfaction and sorrow—satisfaction because the settlement referred to concludes a message of peace, with a body of gentlemen, who however misguided and maddened on the present occasion, are unboubtedly important factors in the cause of the advancement and regeneration of this country, and sorrow because unless carefully safeguarded it may open a wide door to injustice. I love peace, but honor more, and justice above all. It is not my object to dwell on the history of the present scheme of legislation, on the bitter feelings and animosities which it has evoked, on the gradual minimization of the effect of the Bill, small by degrees and beautifully less, or on the influence which the angry discussions of the past ten months may have on the political prospects of the people. I say—let bye-gones be bye-gones. My present concern is to consider how far the proposed settlement will secure the interests and ends of justice. The primary object of your Lordship's Government in the proposed legislation has been to wipe out the brand of

race-disqualification in the judiciary within certain limits in the trial of European British subjects. And that object, I am happy to observe, has been steadily kept in view, and for it our grateful thanks are due to your Excellency's Government. I must at the same time confess that the scope of the original Bill, itself a small measure, has been materially reduced by the modifications proposed from time to time. As far I understand these modifications, both the Native and European Sessions Judges and the Native and European District Magistrates will be so far placed on a footing of equality that they will exercise equal jurisdiction over European British subjects in matters criminal. This equalization, however, has been attained not by extension, but by reduction, of power; by taking away the power of independent action of European Magistrates, and not by adding to the power of Native Magistrates. In so far, I am constrained to say, the solution of the difficulty has been achieved by an unsatisfactory process. The anomaly of race-distinction is doubtless removed as between Magistrates, but it is effected not by adding to the power of native Magistrates, but by changing the *venu*. Race distinction becomes most obtrusive only in the trial of a certain class of cases, and these cases are practically transferred from the file of the native Magistrate to that of his junior the Joint-Magistrate. Thus the race distinction is made more pointed and painful. If the Native Magistrate be invested with a power, which he will not be called upon to exercise, that power to all interests and purposes will be an unreality. Doubtless the European Magistrate will stand in the same position, but to him it will be obvious that it is an administrative or political exigency and not a question of color. It is proposed to safeguard the extension of the jurisdiction of the Native Sessions Judge and the Native District Magistrate by giving the European subject the right to claim trial by jury in all cases. This is a right, I am quite aware, inherent in the Englishman, and an assembly of English legislators cannot but sympathise with it. I am also an advocate of jury trial for my countrymen, and am of opinion that the jury system ought to be extended throughout the country. But there are cases in which Englishmen in their own country cannot claim the benefit of a trial by jury, and even if the proposed modifications should pass into law, the European British subject when brought before a European Assistant or Joint-Magistrate charged with offences of a certain class, will have no right to claim a trial by jury. The question is whether when similarly charged before a District Magistrate, where a European or a Native, he should consistently be permitted to demand a jury. This provision will introduce a new anomaly In seeking to abolish one anomaly we will create another. Under the proposed settlement the European District Magistrate will lose a power which he has exercised since the Act of 1872 without any complaint on the part of the European British subjects, while the Native Magistrate will be constantly put in mind that his power has been circumscribed because he is a native. It may also lead to administrative inconvenience, which is worthy of serious consideration. Then under the Act of 1872 one great reproach to the administration of criminal justice in this country, as far as the trial of the European British subject was concerned that of dragging for trial the complainant and the accused with the whole host of their witnesses to the presidency capitals at great inconvenience, expense and hardship, was removed, because it vested the District Sessions Judge with jurisdiction with or without a jury. Under the proposed settlement in every case before a Court of Sessions the European British subject shall have the right to claim a trial by jury. In a district where a sufficient number of Europeans and Americans may not be found to constitute a jury, the result, I take it, will be to transfer the case to a district where a jury may be available. In this way the old scandals of trials at inconveniently distant places will, I fear, be revived. Many a poor complainant may think it better to put up with the wrongs they may have sustained rather than face the hardships and expenses of a journey miles and miles away from their homes for the sake of possible redress. In this respect the proposed settlement may lead to a denial of justice. In this respect it will manifestly be a retrograde move. It will in fact put back the clock of improvement introduced in 1872. There is another point urged by some of my countrymen *viz.*, the imminent risk of failure of justice in the case of a European British subject at the hands of a European jury, under the peculiar constitution of Anglo-Indian society, and a small jury of these persons. I shall briefly touch upon this point. There have undoubtedly been cases on record in which there have been eggregious failures of justice. I will not say that good men and true when sworn in as jurors will break their oath, and amidst large communities of men of the same race and religion engaged in different occupations and not bound by near kinship or absolute identity of profession or interest it is certainly easy to empanel a jury of good men and true, but amidst a small and sparse European population in the out-lying districts of India, and particularly in critical times of excited feelings in a small jury of these persons the risk of failure of justice is one which no legislature should overlook. It is observable that the British legislature has found it sometimes necessary to suspend jury trials in Ireland. Under these circumstances, my Lord, I cannot look upon the settlement without grave misgivings. My humble belief is that it will add to the difficulties of a fair speedy and honest administration of justice, and thus prove injurious to the people. I shall, however, propose no amendment or specific motion now. Bearing in mind the singleness of purpose which has led your Lordship to this project of legislation, the anxiety which your Lordship has evinced to remove race-disqualifications in the discharge of judicial duties, and the earnestness with which your Lordship has sought to give effect to the noble behests of Parliament and our gracious Queen-Empress, I feel I should pause and consider. I would, therefore, reserve my objections to the details of the settlement till I see the amendments take a definite shape at the hands of the Select Committee. In the spirit of the eloquent peroration of my hon. and learned friend, the mover of the Bill, I would venture to remind the Hon. Council that the stability of the British Empire in India rests on the adamantine rock of justice, and I earnestly hope that that truism will not be lost sight of by the Select Committee in framing their amendments. In conclusion I wish to make one remark. I have no objection to the motion that the Select Committee should report upon the Bill within one week. But I venture to express a hope that after the Bill is recast by the Select Committee it will be forwarded to the Local Governments and local officers for an expression of their opinion as to how far its provisions will be conducive to administrative convenience and to an efficient administration of justice. Great apprehensions are widely entertained that the Bill framed on the basis of the settlement will be unworkable, and will defeat the ends of justice. For this reason I think it is highly desirable, my Lord, that the opinion of the local officers, who are in the best position to form a just estimate of the practical tendency of the Bill, should be taken on this vitally important point. As the Bill has been allowed to hang on for the last ten months, surely it will not prejudice any interest to delay its passing for two months more.

At this stage Mr. Evans said that a hitch had arisen in connection with the construction of one part of the terms of the settlement, which he urged should be cleared up before the debate proceeded further. He therefore moved an adjournment.

His Excellency the Viceroy complied with the motion for adjournment. His Excellency said:—In agreeing to the adjournment of this debate, I do so without prejudice to anything whatsoever concerning this matter, and hold myself entirely free in regard to the question Under these circumstances, I agree to the adjournment of the debate until Monday next at half past eleven.

The Meeting was then adjourned.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

MOFFUSSIL SUBSCRIPTIONS.	Rs.	As.	P.
H. H. The Maharaja of Joypore.....	13	4	0
„ „ The Nawab of Rampore.....	13	4	0
Sang'i Reading Room and Library.....	13	4	0
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Shollapore Native General Library.....	13	4	0
Jogunarain Vazpye Esq., Patna city.....	20	0	0
Munshee Ajoodhyapersad, Kourh	6	10	0
Babu Hurro Chunder Roy, Jarrah	6	8	0
„ Ramlal, Phaugulpore.....	10	0	0
„ Bhogobati Churn Ghose, Rangoon.....	10	0	0
„ Manmohan Sircar, Rampore Bowleah.....	6	10	0
„ Haridas Pal, Khulna.....	8	12	0
„ Kadar Nath Bagchee, Allahabad	6	10	0
„ Sarut Chunder Bannerjea, Buddibatty...	13	4	0
„ Doorga Churn Bhattacharjea, Debrooghur	2	11	0
„ Mohendra Nath Dutt, Hazaribaugh	6	10	0
„ Gunga Churn Gangoly, Tumlook	15	0	0
„ Gunga Nath Roy Sewan	20	0	0
„ Soseevoosun Roy, Doobolhatty	10	0	0
„ Bunko Behary Pal, Kietpara, Anolia.....	6	8	0

Government Notifications

Calcutta Gazette,—*2nd January* 1884.

General—2nd Jany—Mr W Teunon, who has recently been apptd to be a member of the Bengal Civil Service, and who reported his arrival on 24th ult, is apptd to be an Asst Magte and Colr in the Rajshahye and Cooch Behar Divn, and is posted to the sudder station of Rajshahye.

Mr. C A Kelly, Dist and Sess Judge, Pubna, to be Dist and Sess Judge of Nudden.

Judicial Department—2nd Jany—Mr W Teunon, Asst Magte and Colr, Rajshahye, is vested with the powers of a Magte, third class.

Advertisements.

CRYSTALLINE CINCHONA FEBRIFUGE.

A new and improved preparation made at the Government Factory from Red Cinchona Bark. Obtainable from the Superintendent, Botanic Garden, Calcutta. Post free per tin of 16 oz. Rs. 32-12. Cash with order.

LAND INVESTMENT.

To Gentlemen of Capital who can improve their property or who wish to acquire desirable property in or about the metropolis, an opportunity is offered by the following notice:—

FOR SALE.

Thirty beegahs of tenanted and untenanted land at a good site, and in a prominent locality in Howrah (Sulkea) yielding at present, and for years more than Rs. 800 (eight hundred) a year, but capable of *indefinite expansion*. As also a valuable zemindary in the new rising Khoolna district. For particulars apply to Babu Muttylal Pramanick. 16, Gobindo Chunder Sen's Lane, Harcatta, Calcutta.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

NOTICE.

H. E. The Viceroy, and Governor General, Chancellor of the University will unveil the Statue of the late Hon'ble Prasanakumar Tagore C. S. I. at the Senate House on Thursday next the 10th instant.

The ceremony will commence at 3-30 P. M. Members of the Senate are requested to appear in Academical costume. At the conclusion of the ceremony Monier Williams D. L., C. I. E., will deliver an address on the progress of Indian Institue at Oxford and the best mode of utilizing that institution for the benefit of the Indian Students.

Admission will be by tickets which may be obtained on application to the undersigned.

SENATE HOUSE
The 4th Jany. 1884. } G. BULLETT, *Registrar.*

Notice.

The Commissioners of the Town of Calcutta will put up to auction at the Municipal office on Monday, the 21st January, 1884, at noon, the lease for three years of the premises situated at No. 119, Upper Chitpore Road. Further particulars can be obtained on application.

ROBERT TURNBULL,
Secy. to the Corporation.

ALEXANDER CUMMING,

SUCCESSOR TO

F. W. BAKER & Co.,

HAS JUST RECEIVED

Velvets, Plain and Brocaded (striped and figured) in a variety of choice colors.
Silks Plain and Brocaded a large assortment in new colors.
Satins in all colors and shades.
Lonis Velvets In Black, Cardinal, Grenat, Navy, Green and other colors.
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Brocaded Satins in all the favorite patterns.
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Owing, however, to the excessive heat eliminated in the manipulation of this particular work, Mr. Miller regrets to say that Mr. Bromley, will only be able to work the furnaces during the colder months of the year; therefore, intending patients should make appointments as early as possible before the hot season sets in.

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December 1883.

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খৃঃ ১৮৪৩ অব্দে ইটালির অন্তর্গত সার্ডিনিয়ার অধিপতি চার্ল্‌স আলবর্টের প্রযত্নে ও ব্যয়ে, তত্রত্য সুবিখ্যাত পণ্ডিত শ্রীযুক্ত গাসপার গোরেসিয়ো মহোদয়, ভারতবর্ষের নানা প্রদেশ হইতে বহুল রামায়ণ গ্রন্থ সংগ্রহ পূর্ব্বক পাঠ-বিনির্ণয় করিয়া, অসাধারণ অধ্যবসায় যত্ন ও পরিশ্রম সহকারে সংশোধন পূর্ব্বক, যে রামায়ণ ফ্রান্স দেশের রাজধানী প্যারিস নগরে অতি পরিপাটীরূপে মুদ্রিত করিয়াছেন,—যাহা অপেক্ষা উৎকৃষ্টতর মুদ্রিত রামায়ণ গ্রন্থ ভূমণ্ডলে আর নাই,—যাহার মূল্য ১৭৫৲ টাকা,—ও এই মূল্যাধিক্য-নিবন্ধনই যাহা সর্ব্ব-সাধারণের একান্ত দুরধিগম্য হইয়া রহিয়াছে,—একান্ত ইচ্ছা থাকিলেও প্রায় কেহই ক্রয় করিতে সমর্থ হয়েন না,—এবং সর্ব্বোৎকৃষ্ট বলিয়া যাহাই প্রধানরূপে অবলম্বন করিয়া আমরা বাঙ্গালা অনুবাদ করিতেছি;—সেই সর্ব্বোৎকৃষ্ট রামায়ণকেই আদর্শ করিয়া এই মূল রামায়ণ দেবনাগরাক্ষরে অবিকল মুদ্রিত হইবে।

রামায়ণ অতি প্রাচীন গ্রন্থ; উহা এক্ষণে পাঠভেদে পাশ্চাত্য, দাক্ষিণাত্য, গৌড়ীয় ও বঙ্গীয়, প্রধানত এই চারি শ্রেণীস্থ হইয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছে,—তন্মধ্যে গৌড়ীয় রামায়ণই সর্ব্বোৎকৃষ্ট বলিয়া বিদ্বন্মণ্ডলীমধ্যে পরিগণিত। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় এই যে, মহাত্মা গোরেসিয়ো ব্যতীত এই রামায়ণ ইতিপূর্ব্বে আর কেহই কখনই সমগ্র মুদ্রিত করেন নাই; এই প্রথম উদ্যম।

বাল্মীকি-রূপ-গিরি-সম্ভূতা রাম-রূপ-মহাসাগর-সঙ্গতা সুপবিত্রা রামায়ণী গঙ্গা যাহাতে সুখ-লভ্যা হইয়া ভারতভূমির প্রতিগৃহই—প্রত্যেক ব্যক্তিকেই পবিত্র করেন;—বাল্মীকি-রূপ-কলকণ্ঠ-কোকিল-কণ্ঠ-বিনিঃসৃত, লবকুশ কর্ত্তৃক প্রথম সঙ্গীত, তাললয়-সম্পন্ন, এই মনোহর রামায়ণ-সঙ্গীত যাহাতে প্রতিগৃহেই প্রতিধ্বনিত হয়, তাহাই আমাদের একমাত্র উদ্দেশ্য। নতুবা এরূপ সুলভ মূল্যে যে লাভের কিঞ্চিন্মাত্রও প্রত্যাশা নাই, তাহা সহৃদয় ব্যক্তিমাত্রই বুঝিতে পারিতেছেন।

এই রামায়ণ এক সহস্র খণ্ড মাত্র মুদ্রিত হইবে; সুতরাং গ্রহণাভিলাষী মহাশয়গণ পৌষ মাসের মধ্যেই, যত সত্বর পারেন, আমাদিগকে জানাইবেন; নতুবা গ্রাহক-সংখ্যা পূর্ণ হইয়া গেলে, আর কেহই গ্রাহক-শ্রেণীভুক্ত হইতে পারিবেন না।

আগামী মাঘ মাস হইতে প্রচারিত হইবে। পুস্তক প্রচারের পূর্ব্বে গ্রাহক-শ্রেণীভুক্ত হইলেই অগ্রিম মূল্য ৭৲ সাত টাকা;—নচেৎ প্রতিখণ্ডের নগদ মূল্য (১৲) এক টাকা। গ্রহণাভিলাষিগণ অগ্রিম মূল্য সহ স্ব স্ব নাম, উপাধি ও ঠিকানা সুস্পষ্টরূপে লিখিয়া নিম্ন-স্বাক্ষরকারীর নামে নিম্নলিখিত যে কোন ঠিকানায় পাঠাইতে পারেন।

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২৯এ অগ্রহায়ণ,—১২৯০।

ঠিকানা।

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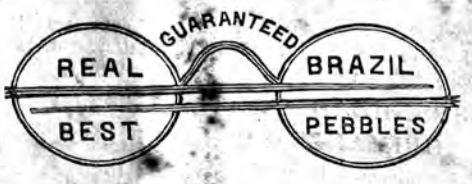

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